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NEW TIMES HOLDS ROUNDTABLE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

PM141039 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 27, 13 Jul 87 pp 18-21

[NEW TIMES roundtable entitled "Of Reasonable Sufficiency, Precarious Parity, and International Security" with: Lieutenant General Mikhail Abramovich Milshteyn, retired, professor, doctor of military sciences, chief scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada; Major General Vadim Ivanovich Makarevskiy, retired, candidate of military sciences, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations; Major General Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Nozhin, retired, professor, doctor of philological sciencies, instructor at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee; Rear Admiral Aleksandr Romanovich Astafyev, retired, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations -- accompanying boxed feature comprises photographs and identification of roundtable participants]

[Text] /What military doctrine is consonant with the dictates of the time? What level of armaments is sufficient for defence? Is strategic parity a reliable guarantee of peace? What should take the place of mutual nuclear deterrence? NEW TIMES invited for a round table talk on the subject a number of former high-ranking military leaders, members today of the Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament, a group functioning under the auspices of the Soviet Peace Committee./ [passage within slantlines published as editorial introduction]

NEW TIMES: How would you comment on the document adopted at the Berlin meeting of the WTO Political Consultative Committee, "on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states?"

Mikhail Milshteyn: It is a document of enormous significance. It demonstrates to the whole world the defensive character and orientation of the military doctrine of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. Many of its basic principles are given in a new formulation, besides which the document is, so to speak, a challenge to other states, and primarily the NATO countries, to examine their own doctrines in the light of ours. Lastly, it confronts Soviet military science with major tasks: the detailed elaboration of the fundamental principles of our military doctrine, specifically its military-technological aspect.

N.T.: What is basically new in the approach of the Warsaw Treaty States?

Milshteyn: Formerly military doctrines represented the sum total of a country's views on the preparation for war, the character of the war and its prosecution. Today for the first time in history the main task set the armed forces is prevention of war. The defensive character of our doctrine is unambiguously stated.

N.T.: But other states, the NATO countries, for instance, also officially maintain that their armed forces serve defensive purposes exclusively.

Milshteyn: There is indeed no dearth of verbal assurances of this kind. The Americans and NATO as a whole go in for such declarations. But declarations are one thing, and their realization in practice is quite another. We have renounced the use of force in general to resolve outstanding issues, offensive action against any state, and have undertaken the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. [paragraph continues]

Moreover, we are ready for a structure and disposition of our armed forces in zones of contact that would, first, guarantee the other side against sudden attack, and, second, in general exclude the possibility of offensive action against it. This is an instance of new thinking, both political and military. It is well-known fact that military thinking -- let military scientists not take offence -- is perhaps the most conservative and inertia-prone of all sciences.

Aleksandr Astafyev: To my mind, the very public exposition of the fundamental principles of our military doctrine is of historical significance. After all, it has always been considered inexpedient to do this.

N.T.: Openness in the military sphere?

A. Astafyev: Precisely. The public announcement of the defensive nature of the doctrine is extremely important for a correct understanding of the aims and intentions of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. I should like to underscore the significance of the proposal to discuss the NATO and Warsaw Treaty military doctrines at representative meetings of experts. Such meetings could be the starting points for negotiations of an altogether new kind between the two blocs. So far these negotiations have amounted largely to a simple count of who has what. If, on the other hand, the character of military doctrines is discussed and compared, we would be bound to arrive at new approaches to questions of war and peace. In which case the possibility could emerge for abandoning the dangerous and futile concept of "nuclear deterrence," for instance, and proceeding to laying the foundation for a system of international security based on the nuclear-free world concept.

N.T.: Of late a new concept -- "reasonable sufficiency" -- has appeared in the political lexicon. It was reflected also in the documents of the Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. What exactly does it mean?

A. Astafyev: In the first place, in using the term "sufficiency" or "reasonable sufficiency" we must ask: sufficient for what? Ten years ago the then U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara calculated, with the help of experts, that for the U.S. nuclear weapons with a yield of about 200 megatons was sufficient. Sufficient for what? To destroy the key centres of the Soviet economy and manpower resources. In other words, "sufficient" to destroy an entire country, its industry and people.

When the Warsaw Treaty countries propose keeping within the limits of sufficiency, they mean sufficiency for defence. In other words, a sufficiency of military potentials that would rule out the victory of one side and the defeat of the other.

Vadim Makarevskiy: This is a very complicated question, for the geographical location and historical experience of the various countries, their views on the aims and purposes of defence, their economic and other potentials have to be taken into account. The Political Consultative Committee documents, besides declaring for the prevention of war both nuclear and conventional, speak of readiness to give a crushing rebuff to the aggressor, to rule out any possibility of being taken by surprise. That means that the armed forces remain, but at a considerably lower level. In June last year the Warsaw Treaty states therefore proposed to the NATO states that the level of armed forces in Europe be lowered, their numerical strength on both sides reduced by 100,000-150,000 within the next one or two years, and by the beginning of the 1990s by roughly half a million men.

The principle of sufficiency also means ending the drive to outstrip the other side in arms development, renouncing the building up of rapid deployment and other mobile forces, and of enormous facilities for the movement of troops by air and sea.

Thus, transition to the sufficiency principle signifies lowering the existing armament level, on a parity basis, of course -- parity with a tendency to lowering the level of armament to a point where neither side would have the means to wage offensive operations.

N.T.: The "sufficiency" thesis presupposes reduction but not total elimination of armed forces. How much should remain?

A. Astafyev: Reasonable sufficiency cannot be achieved only by quantitative reduction of armaments and armed forces. It is also a matter of the restructuring of the armed forces for defence, of the character of armaments, and lastly, of the military-strategic conceptions underlying the defensive military doctrines of both sides. The transition to reasonable sufficiency must proceed parallel with the establishment of a system of international security encompassing the military, political, economic, and humanitarian spheres. Before creating a non-offensive reasonable defence it is essential at least to restructure one's military potentials and revise military and political views. This will be a protracted process that must begin with the elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction. A system of international security presupposes renouncing not only nuclear weapons and nuclear war but also war against one another in general. After all, even conventional weapons today present a terrible danger; "conventional" war in Europe would be a disaster for the whole continent.

M. Milshteyn: In my opinion the question of reasonable sufficiency must be tackled now. Yes, this will be a long-drawn-out process. And sufficiency in the context of the total elimination of nuclear weapons is a matter of the distant future. We know that our proposal of January 15, 1986, for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 did not find due support in the West, especially among the political leadership, and among some scientists as well. Some say that nuclear weapons cannot be "de-invented," others that it is precisely thanks to nuclear weapons that war has been averted to date; still others claim that complete elimination of these weapons would give military superiority to the Warsaw Treaty countries, and there are also those who do not exclude the possibility of South Africa, Israel, Brazil and Pakistan acquiring these weapons.

Of course the total elimination of nuclear arsenals is the only real way of averting a nuclear holocaust. But it will take time to achieve this objective. Hence transition to reasonable sufficiency should proceed simultaneously with the reduction of nuclear stockpiles and also of armed forces and conventional armaments.

N.T.: What does reasonable sufficiency mean in these circumstances?

M. Milshteyn: In all probability it will not mean the same for all countries. Reasonable sufficiency implies possession of a military potential that, on the one hand, would be enough to safeguard the security of one's own country and, on the other, not enough to give effect to offensive plans, and especially to surprise attacks. However, considering, say, the geographical and geostrategic positions of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., reasonable sufficiency will differ in arithmetical terms. Therefore to specify exactly how many rifles, guns, tanks, aircraft and missiles each side should have is impossible at this juncture. The concrete parameters will be determined by agreement. [paragraph continues]

For this purpose it is proposed to hold a meeting of experts at which, for instance, it would be necessary to agree on which armaments should be considered defensive and which offensive. The building of armed forces, their disposition and the character of armaments should in future be determined exclusively by defensive considerations.

V. Makarevskiy: One can speak of sufficiency on both a global and a regional plane. I believe that at the present time the principles of reasonable sufficiency should be elaborated only on a regional plane -- in Europe with regard to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

N.T.: In what sense could one speak of sufficiency on a global plane, in the light of the process of reducing nuclear weapons?

A. Astafyev: Here one can speak only of one thing -- sufficiency for maintaining military strategic parity. So long as the West is not prepared to renounce "nuclear deterrence" we are also obliged to have nuclear weapons -- such are the "rules of the game" forced upon us. And although we do not agree with the nuclear deterrence concept and urge renunciation of it, we are willy-nilly compelled to follow its logic. After all, the purpose of our strategic forces is to deter the adversary from embarking on aggression. Whether we like it or not, mutual deterrence is a fact. And this being so let us ask ourselves: How many times is sufficient for the enemy to be destroyed -- 150? 100? 15?

N.T.:...Or perhaps once is enough?

A. Astafyev: Right -- sufficiency at the lowest level.

M. Milshteyn: Moreover peace can be preserved only if the parity between the two sides is such as to allow neither to wage offensive action. If there is an illusion of superiority, not necessarily of quantity but of technology -- I have in mind the SDI programme -- the irreparable could happen. So the present parity is not a guarantee of peace.

N.T.: Does that mean that the classical formula that a threefold preponderance is needed for the success of an offensive no longer applies?

M. Milshteyn: That preponderance applied to artillery, tanks and infantry. Today of course the approach is somewhat different. Nevertheless that formula is not wholly outdated. The necessary superiority of strength can be created on some narrow sector of the front by weakening other sectors. But if offensive means -- mobile forces with aircraft and tanks -- are withdrawn, as the U.S.S.R. and its allies propose, any attempt at an offensive thrust would have to be preceded by regrouping and concentration of troops, etc. This is bound to be noticed by the other side, and surprised attack would thus be excluded.

N.T.: Can Clausewitz's formula that war is the continuation of politics by other means be considered valid today when such gigantic arsenals of nuclear weapons have been accumulated?

Yevgeniy Nozhin: The problem of nuclear weapons has an inbuilt contradiction. We say the use of the nuclear weapon is suicidal, for the aggressor will inevitably perish from the consequences of the use of his own weapon. This has been proved scientifically. There is practically no doubt on this problem of the relation between the concepts of politics and war has acquired an entirely new dimension today.

Theoretically war is still the continuation of politics. If the Americans are preparing for war that is a continuation of their policy. If we reject war, that is precisely our policy. But theory is one thing and practice something else again. This is worth pondering over.

V. Makarevskiy: On February 16 at the International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Mankind, Mikhail Gorbachev said that world war has ceased to be a continuation of politics by other means. World war means nuclear war, in which all would perish. It is necessary to go over to new forms -- to defence, moreover, "non-offensive defence." In other words, the Clausewitz formula is not applicable to world war. But war is nevertheless still a continuation of politics as regards local conflicts. Take the Iranian-Iraqi war -- a classical illustration to Clausewitz. The Falklands war was also a continuation of politics. The Clausewitz formula remains valid also in other sphere -- the arms buildup, which is also a continuation of politics.

N.T.: You mentioned "non-offensive defence." There is a great deal of talk about this nowadays. Could you dwell in greater detail on this question? What is meant by "non-offensive defence," what are its basic principles?

V. Makarevskiy: It is one of the unofficial concepts being propounded in Western countries by individual scientists, nongovernmental organizations and representatives of opposition parties. It is also called "non-provocative defence." Its most important principles are:

renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons and of nuclear weapons in general;

the withdrawal of the most dangerous, offensive armaments from the zones of proximity of the two military blocs.

Thus it is a matter not only of reducing the armed forces of the sides, but also of qualitative change in these forces, of the elimination by mutual agreement of such types of offensive weaponry as tactical long-range bombers, tactical missiles, long-range artillery, large armoured formations, etc. In other words, a restructuring of the armed forces of the sides.

This essentially is what the Warsaw Treaty states had in mind when they proposed creating a nuclear-free corridor along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO forces extending for 150 kilometres on each side; withdrawing from this zone on a reciprocal basis all types of nuclear weapons -- warheads, nuclear artillery, nuclear-armed tactical strike aircraft, as well as air defence missile complexes capable of firing nuclear warheads.

Of course, it is for the military experts of each side to decide on the structure of the "non-offensive defence." Here, in my view, the creative imagination of the experts should not be limited. What is important is that the "non-offensive" principle is observed.

N.T.: Many in the West have noted the provision in the Berlin documents relating to asymmetry, the readiness of the U.S.S.R. to do away with it, by reducing, not increasing the various components. Is this an indirect admission of the Soviet Union's preponderance in one or another sphere?

V. Makarevskiy: Of course a certain disproportion does exist. That is why at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in central Europe we have proposed that the U.S. forces be reduced by 13,000 men and ours by 20,000.

M. Milshteyn: Asymmetry does of course imply preponderance, but preponderance both on our side in some respects, and on the other side, in other respects.

The West has its own preconceived notions about the Soviet Armed Forces. First, it is said that they are numerically superior to the Western. Second, that we have more tanks. Third, that the U.S.S.R. has more tactical nuclear weapons. Fourth, that the U.S.S.R. has more room for manuevering of troops, reserves and combat units. Whether that is so is debatable. Some elements are counterbalanced, others are not. For instance, NATO has more anti-tank weapons. That is why it is proposed to hold meetings of experts, of the commanders of armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, their secretaries general and, lastly, highest ranking military leaders.

N.T.: But is there not a danger of getting bogged down in levels, sub-levels, comparisons, etc.? It will be extremely difficult to wade through this maze of problems.

M. Milshteyn: There is perhaps such a danger, when it comes to conventional armaments. If negotiations are conducted after the Vienna pattern we are bound to fall captive to statistics, juggling with figures and will not achieve any concrete results. In my view the only correct approach would be to use a model the Soviet formula at the Geneva nuclear and space talks. This proposal -- which has been accepted by the Americans -- is very simple: to cut strategic nuclear armaments by half. The problem has to be solved en bloc, as the Warsaw Treaty states suggested in June 1986, not allowing ourselves to be caught in a quagmire of statistical wrangling from which it is sometimes simply impossible to extricate oneself. That would really be a new approach, an example of new thinking.

N.T.: What is the reaction abroad to the Soviet proposals? We know that you have recently been in the U.S. and in Austria and met with Western military men. What was discussed at these talks, what results have such discussions yielded?

M. Milshteyn: The meeting of Soviet and American retired generals and admirals was the first of its kind ever held. Seven of us went to the United States and met with nine American retired admirals and generals. On the agenda were the limitation of armaments and the military policy of the Reagan administration. The Soviet delegation outlined and substantiated the latest Soviet initiatives. On the whole our proposals met with wide support among the American participants, with the exception of the proposal for the total elimination of nuclear weapons of which I have already spoken.

V. Makarevskiy: Let me add that the atmosphere of the meeting was friendly. The discussions were held in public. With us was an official from the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Defence, General B.T. Surikov. The Pentagon, regrettably, did not send its own general to the meeting.

Ye. Nozhin: I should like to make some remarks about the general significance of our trip. The emergence of such groups as ours and similar groups in the United States and Western Europe is in my view a manifestation of the new political and military thinking which is now gaining momentum. [paragraph continues]

When, say, doctors, writers, art workers speak up for peace that is logical. But when generals, men whose profession is war, begin to fight for peace, this looks somewhat paradoxical. But therein lies the strength of our group. The public evinces the keenest interest in our activity. It is noteworthy that our discussions in America drew a great many newsmen. And that is very important. I believe the public discussions exerted a considerable influence on public opinion through the mass media and the direct contacts we had with people. I personally had occasion to appear together with the American Admiral Eugene Carroll in a direct one-hour radio broadcast. Questions were put directly by the audience.

I made a live television appearance also in Shreveport, Louisiana, a town in the deep south. I assure you that our whole trip evoked great interest and was very useful.

N.T.: What about the meeting of retired admirals and generals held in Vienna in early May? You took part in it, did you not, Admiral Astafyev?

A. Astafyev: That was the fourth meeting of its kind. This time there were eight generals from five NATO countries and eleven generals and admirals from the Warsaw Treaty states.

We had agreed in advance that there would be no reports or papers prepared beforehand. We would simply conduct the discussion with a view to working out concrete recommendations that could be used in the future. What specifically did we discuss? The general theme was the new military thinking in the nuclear age. I must admit that before the meeting we were not sure how our Western colleagues would react to this idea of doing away with nuclear weapons altogether. Margaret Thatcher and Jacques Chirac had been in Moscow shortly before and both had been emphatically in favour of retaining the "nuclear deterrent."

But to the credit of the Western generals be it said that none of them supported that concept. Moreover, the British General Harbottle regretted that his Prime Minister had been so openly insistent in her advocacy of "nuclear deterrence."

We also discussed the military aspects of the international security system. Clearly many questions still remain unanswered. We agreed to examine this problem in greater detail at our next meeting in May next year.

N.T.: You said that you worked out recommendations for future work. Exactly what recommendations?

A. Astafyev: One of them related to direct contacts between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty commanders-in-chief, and between the secretaries-general of the two organizations, and the setting up of working groups to study military-strategic concepts in the nuclear age which could serve to reduce tension. We proposed holding seminars, discussions, and exchanges between the military organizations and institutions of both blocs at different levels. Also discussed were confidence-building measures to supplement those worked out at the first stage of the Stockholm conference.

I should like to stress that we declared unanimously for ending the Vienna talks and going over to a new basis in accordance with the mandate of the second stage of the Stockholm conference now being examined at the meeting in the Austrian capital.

N.T.: We thank you for your participation in our Round Table and hope that you will cooperate with us in the future as well.

The Round Table was conducted by A. Lebedev, D. Pogorzhelskiy and N. Zholkver.

NATO UNWILLING TO RECIPROCATE DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

LD151359 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 15 Jul 87

[Text] Geneva July 16 TASS -- The disarmament conference is under way here. The plenary meeting on Tuesday was addressed by British Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, David Mellor. He actually reiterated the traditional set of "arguments" on the need of preservation of nuclear weapons, the significance of the concept of "nuclear deterrence" to strengthen security, the Warsaw Treaty countries' "superiority" in conventional armaments. The British representative sought to shift the responsibility for the lack of progress in the negotiations from the West on the Soviet Union.

Speaking at the same meeting, the head of the Soviet delegation Yuriy Nazarkin said that such attempts were untenable. There is no progress in the negotiations, he said, since the NATO member states are unwilling to reciprocate in a constructive spirit the socialist states' initiatives. The Warsaw Treaty member states, for instance, propose to the NATO member states to hold consultations to compare the military doctrines of both alliances in the course of which the sides could also consider disbalance and asymmetry in separate types of armaments and troops through their eliminating by reduction of armaments and troops of the side which has proved to be ahead, provided such reductions will lead to establishing still lower levels. But no NATO's consent to such consultations has been so far received. As to the "nuclear deterrent" concept, it is designed to justify the arms race and adds to the risk of a nuclear catastrophe.

CHERVOV OUTLINES FEATURES OF WARSAW PACT DOCTRINE

AU151201 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 87 p 7

[Interview tih USSR Colonel General Nikolay Chervov by NOVOSTI's Vasiliy Morozov: "The Doctrine of Preventing War; Colonel General Nikolay Chervov on an Important Document of the Warsaw Pact Countries" -- place and date of interview not given]

[Text] In connection with the publication of the document On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact Member States, NOVOSTI commentator Vasiliy Morozov asked Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the Administration of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, to comment on several issues.

[Morozov] What are the fundamental special features of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine?

[Chervov] The main feature is that the Warsaw Pact military doctrine is strictly defensive and is subordinated to the task of preventing war, both nuclear and conventional. Formerly, on the whole, military doctrine did not address the issue of strategy to such an extent. In principle, it rested on a set of views connected with the buildup of armed forces, with the preparation and waging of war. The military doctrine of the socialist countries constitutes a system of fundamental views on preventing war, the maintenance of the armed forces, the preparation of states and armed forces to beat back aggression, and on ways of waging an armed struggle to defend socialism.

The exclusively defensive orientation of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact organization finds its expression in the fact that the socialist countries will never, under any circumstances, start a war -- either nuclear or conventional -- against any country, whether in Europe or any other part of the world, unless they themselves become the subject of an armed attack. They will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. The USSR and the other socialist countries have no territorial claims against any state inside or outside Europe. They do not regard any state or nation as their enemy.

Another special feature of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine lies in the fact that it is oriented toward achieving the lowest possible level of the military groupings facing one another and it proceeds from the position that in our times truly equal security is not guaranteed by a high, but by the lowest possible level of strategic equilibrium.

Each of the sections of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, are an essential component to preparing and maintaining the armed forces of the allied armies, including issues connected with defense planning, the training of troops and staffs, and the manner of conducting military actions.

Therefore, the publication of a uniform military doctrine is not only a declaration of principles but also a mere affirmation of the strictly defensive nature of the policy of the socialist states. It is one program of activities for building up the allied forces of the Warsaw Pact states. The principle of adequacy for defense is incorporated in the foundations of this program. In general, this principle envisages that the allied socialist states will maintain their armed forces and armament at such a level that any aggressor's attack would not catch them unprepared and would not yield the aggressor any benefit.

[Morozov] This is the first time a military doctrine has set the task of preventing war. With what means and instruments does the Warsaw Pact organization want to fulfill that task? What place will the military means have in fulfilling that task?

[Chervov] The Warsaw Pact member states realize that the military-strategic equilibrium continues to be the decisive factor in preventing war. However, the feverish arms buildup makes it disproportionately high, which does not bring greater security. Security becomes reliable when balance exists at the lowest possible level. In this connection, the task of military means for not preventing war is, in particular, oriented toward maintaining the sides' military potentials at a level sufficient for defense only.

[Morozov] What can you say about the NATO concept based on "nuclear deterrence" being submitted by the West as a guarantee of security?

[Chervov] The concept of "mutual deterrence by means of nuclear deterrence" is innately contradictory. Its proponents assert that the more nuclear weapons, the greater, allegedly, the security and the greater the military competition, the better, allegedly, for the cause of peace. "Nuclear containment" is the concept of the "cold war" period. It was tolerated up to a certain time. It has no justification now.

The concept of nuclear deterrence is selfish. It is possible that it ensures the security of a nuclear state to a cetain extent. But what are the other states and regions to do? They are forced to entrust their security to nuclear big powers or to seek other ways. This will objectively lead to proliferating nuclear weapons in the world and undermining of states' security.

The concept of the nuclear deterrent constitutes a pressure, a position of strength. It fans a feverish arms buildup and makes military equilibrium unstable. One cannot exclude the possiblity of war being unleashed accidentally. The alternative is to scrap nuclear weapons and reduce military potentials to the level of sensible adequacy.

PRAVDA REVIEW OF WEEK'S INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

PM131510 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 87 First Edition p 4

["International Review" by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov]

[Text] Our Common Home [subhead]

The concept of the common European home is probably the topic most widely discussed both at the Soviet-West German talks and at Soviet-Austrian talks in the past week. FRG Federal President von Weizsaecker, who came to the USSR on an official visit, had a frank [otkrovennyy] talk with M.S. Gorbachev and exchanged opinions on a wide range of questions with A.A. Gromyko. During his official visit to Austria N.I. Ryzhkov held talks with federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky. The participants in the Moscow and Vienna talks formed a common opinion on the need to assert in international affairs a political philosophy which rejects both nuclear and conventional wars and is oriented toward peace and the joint resolution of the problems facing mankind.

It can be concluded from this that for all the political and ideological differences, the USSR and the FRG, while continuing to be themselves in their systems and alliances, can be partners in building the common European home. The course of acceleration of socioeconomic development offers new confirmation of the peaceful thrust of the USSR's foreign policy and its reliability as a partner in foreign economic affairs. Anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are as intolerable in today's world as the whipping up of hostility toward any other state. Even in the most difficult times of the last war Soviet people's sense of reality did not fail them. We did not confuse the German people with the Nazi regime and do not blame them for the troubles inflicted on us by Hitler's aggression.

In signing the Moscow Treaty in 1970, the USSR and the FRG put an end to the past and opened the door to the future. This treaty, and later the Helsinki Final Act, enshrined the postwar political and territorial realities, and accord with the demands of stability and peaceful development in Europe. The Soviet leadership welcomed the Bonn guests' words about the Moscow Treaty and other treaties with the socialist countries as the basis of FRG policy with regard to Eastern Europe. However, when statements can constantly be heard from the banks of the Rhine to the effect that the "German question" remains open and that not everything is clear regarding the "lands in the East" and that Yalta and Potsdam are "unlawful," doubt arises as to whether the FRG leadership intends to adhere consistently to this treaty. Those who are trying to use West Berlin as a detonator, a source of provocations in Europe, are making a serious mistake. One would like to hope that the FRG will use its influence to ensure that the existing agreement on West Berlin is strictly observed.

The outlines of an agreement which would rid Europe of medium-range missiles and operational and tactical missiles on both sides are taking shape at present at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. This agreement would be the first effective stop toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. In these conditions it is very important to place no obstacles in the path to a mutually acceptable accord. The position taken by the FRG with regard to the Pershing-1A missiles which are on its territory is therefore regrettable.

The participants in the Soviet-Austrian talks in Vienna also came out in favor of resolving international problems without the use of force, ending the arms race on earth, and preventing it in space. The federal chancellor stated that he approves the peaceful thrust of the USSR's foreign policy, and in particular the Soviet proposal on medium-range and operational and tactical missiles in Europe. [paragraph continues]

The USSR and Austria declared their readiness to continue to promote in every way the development of the all-European process as an important factor for strengthening security, stability, and cooperation in Europe.

The two countries' heads of government reaffirmed in Vienna the continuing significance of the State Treaty on the restoration of an independent and democratic Austria and its status of permanent neutrality. The conclusion of this treaty was, incidentally, an instructive example of postwar collaboration between great powers on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence and an important step along the path of a peaceful settlement in Europe.

Both in Moscow and in Vienna great attention was devoted to cooperation in the trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and humanitarian spheres. The participants in the talks deemed it desirable to make more active use of such progressive forms of ties as production sharing, the exchange of licences, and the creation of joint enterprises. Although European affairs have occupied most space in the newspapers in recent days, the past week also marked by notable events in Asia. A consultative meeting of communist and revolutionary democratic parties of the Asian-Pacific region was held for the first time, in the Mongolian capital. Representatives of 21 parties exchanged opinions on the problems of peace, security, and good neighborly cooperation and agreed to hold such meetings in future on questions of mutual interest. A.F. Dobrynin, head of the CPSU delegation, read out a message to those present from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The trip to the PRC by a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians headed by G.P. Razumovskiy was a notable event in the development of USSR-PRC ties and contacts.

A Match in the Gas Tank [subhead]

Carrier-borne U.S. Navy aircraft, including bombers, have begun to patrol the Persian Gulf. They take off from the aircraft carrier "Constellation," which is in the Arabian Sea. In mid-July, that is, in a few days' time, the White House intends to hoist the U.S. flag over 11 Kuwaiti tankers and take them under U.S. military protection. This step opens up a new, potentially more dangerous stage in the Iran-Iraq war. The pitch of tension in the Persian Gulf is approaching the critical point beyond which the regional conflict could grow into an international crisis. Playing with fire in the area where nearly two-thirds of the nonsocialist world's oil stocks are concentrated is as risky as climbing into a gas tank with a lighted match.

One consequence of the 7-year military conflict between Iraq and Iran is the "tanker war." Despairing of securing victory on the battlefield, both the warring parties set about hindering each other, and also their neighbors, in the exportation of oil. More than 320 ships have already suffered because of mines, shells, and missiles. However, this has led to no serious interruptions in oil supplies. The intensity of such incidents remains approximately the same as in past years, when nobody raised the question of a military escort for tankers.

There is another significant factor. The United States is 10 times less dependent than Japan on oil from the Persian Gulf, and 6 times less than Western Europe. Yet at the recent Venice meeting the U.S. allies, who have far more grounds for concern, did not show any desire to participate in the U.S. military venture. They recognize that an international conflict in the Gulf would indeed paralyze shipping, which would affect them more than anyone, as the chief consumers of oil from there.

There is no doubt that Washington sees the "tanker war" only as a pretext for saber-rattling and wants to exploit the situation in order to ensure U.S. military control over the region, which 10 years ago was declared to be a "sphere of U.S. vital interests." In 1977 the White House delcared that U.S. troops, which subsequently became known as the "Rapid Deployment Forces," would be sent to protect the Persian Gulf oilfields in the event of an emergency. Two years later, after the overthrow of the shah's regime, the concentration of U.S. ships and Marines in the western part of the Indian Ocean was justified in terms of Iranian events and the seizure of U.S. hostages in Tehran. Since the end of 1979 the pretext for the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf has been Afghanistan and the conjecture that the Kremlin has, practically since czarist times, been "pushing toward the warm seas." For the last 7 years, the Iran-Iraq conflict and the ensuing "tanker war" have been added to this.

The USSR, aware of what an escalation of tension in such an explosive region could lead to, is doing everything to promote the efforts now being made within the UN framework to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict. Along with the other Security Council members the USSR advocates an immediate cease-fire and the speedy withdrawal of troops to within the internationally acknowledged borders. The Soviet Government recently proposed that all warships of states not belonging to this region be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf in the near future, and that Iran and Iraq, for their part, refrain from actions creating a threat to international shipping. The Gulf countries, including the participants in the conflict, welcomed this initiative as constructive. What attitude did Washington take? Washington made it clear, without beating about the bush, that the United States is not about to leave the Persian Gulf. If the war ends, they said, it will be possible to think about reducing the scale of the U.S. military presence, but not by any means eliminating it....

As a typical manifestation of neoglobalism the U.S. adventure in the Persian Gulf has a threefold thrust, in my view. It is not enough to say that it is imbued with anti-Sovietism and targeted against the developing countries' interests and their sovereign right to control their own natural resources. By all appearances it also has a third purpose: to take under U.S. military control a very important source of energy resources, in order, by controlling the oil tap, to keep the allies obedient and ensure U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world.

Congressmen With Sledgehammers [subhead]

This week Washington and Tokyo finished drawing up an intergovernmental agreement on the conditions for Japanese participation in the U.S. "Star Wars" program. In a few days this document and a secret appendix to it will be signed by Defense Secretary Weinberger and Japanese ambassador to the United States Matsunaga. Japan will then become the fifth U.S. accomplice in the militarization of space, after Britain, the FRG, Italy, and Israel.

Tokyo official circles took a long time to make up their mind to do this openly. After all, participation in the creation of space strike arms is incompatible with the Constitution (under which the Japanese people have renounced the use of military force for all time), and is also contrary to three parliamentary resolutions at once: on space research and exploration purely for peaceful purposes, on renouncing the production, acquisition, and deployment of nuclear weapons, and on banning the export of military hardware and technology. The Japanese Government therefore at first expressed "understanding" in connection with SDI, and only after a long "study" did it begin speaking of "participation" last fall. However, the elaboration of specific terms for involving Japanese scientific and production potential in the U.S. "Star Wars" program was long and drawn out. [paragraph continues]

But in the end the Japanese side had to yield to U.S. pressure. Not only on this, but on other questions too. Everywhere, as a pretext for blackmail, the notorious "Toshiba affair" was used.

Millions of television viewers saw U.S. Congressmen using sledgehammers to smash up a tape recorder bearing the brand name of that Japanese electrical equipment concern. What were the legislators from the Capitol so angry about? The U.S. propaganda machine is blowing up the "treason" story. One of the concern's subsidiaries, Toshiba Kikai, against the instructions of the Coordinating Committee for Monitoring Exports to Socialist Countries (COCOM), sold a number of milling machine tools with digital program control to the USSR. The Pentagon claims that thanks to these machine tools, Soviet shipbuilders are able to turn out better quality propellors for nuclear submarines, and thanks to these propellors the Soviet submarine fleet has become more noiseless, they say, and that means more invulnerable, which supposedly promises "pernicious consequences for the security of the free world."

The Congress granted Defense Secretary Weinberger the right to demand compensation in the sum of $30 billion for the damage. It was intended to kill three birds with one stone: to undermine the businessmen's desire to expand trade ties with the East, to please Toshiba's U.S. competitors, like IBM, and, lastly, to use the invented "damage" as a lever for exerting pressure.

This last was Weinberger's task during his recent visit to Tokyo. He stated that the United States will not insist on compensation if Japan agrees to bilateral cooperation in improving antisubmarine systems so as to restore the Pacific allies' "technological superiority over the USSR." The Pentagon chief received this agreement. But that was not enough for him. Weinberger wanted the U.S. corporations MacDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics to be instructed to create a new fighter for the Japanese air force. A consortium of five Japanese firms headed by Mitsubishi insists that the order for 100 such planes (at a total cost of $7 billion) can and must be fulfilled by their own efforts.

Lastly, Weinberger puts tremendous pressure on his interlocutors on ther question of SDI, although the feeling in Tokyo business circles was not in favor of this. The story of the Toshiba concern reinforced suspicions that the Japanese will be forbidden to use the results of their research, on the pretext of "ensuring secrecy." But here too Japan was forced to make concessions to redeem its imaginary "fault."

There are substantial grounds for believing that Tokyo officials deliberately "swallowed" absurd fabrications to the effect that a few Soviet machine tools had done $30 billion worth of damage to U.S. security. This slanderous cloud acted as a smokescreen for concessions to Washington, the meaning of which the authorities preferred to conceal from the Japanese public.

HINTS OF MAJOR SHIFTS IN PACT DOCTRINE, ORGANIZATION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLEGMEINE in German 4 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by Jan Reifenberg: "'We Are No Longer Talking About How To Win the War'-A New Soviet Military Doctrine -- Moscow Delegate Signals Foreign Policy Shift"]

[Text] Berlin, in early July -- "The Soviet Union's strategic doctrine up to now was just as incomprehensible to us Russians as it was for the West. Marshal Sokolovskiy's demands of the sixties are a thing of the past. [paragraph continues]

Now a genuine coalition doctrine is being developed for the first time whose primary goal is the maintenance of sufficiency for defensive purposes. We are no longer talking about winning the war (by nuclear, chemical or conventional means) but about how to prevent it. The principal problem existing between us and Western Europe -- that of the threat of a surprise attack -- must be overcome by the withdrawal of all offensive forces. As in all other areas, the Soviet Union is presently engaged in a thoroughgoing reevaluation of its military posture. That does not sit well with a good many people; but the necessary political decision by the leadership is being implemented."

The above points were made by a high-ranking Soviet political figure and scientist in commenting on Gorbachev's new policies at a conference devoted to security between East and West sponsored by the Berlin Aspen Institute. The speaker also announced that Moscow's relationship with its East European partners would undergo fundamental change. In place of a monolithic bloc dependent on Moscow's orders, the Soviet leadership was now thinking of the creation of a "commonwealth" of East Bloc nations within the framework of which increasing freedom of movement of the individual members would become inevitable. Another conference participant referred to the Brezhnev Doctrine as "antiquated thinking" because the use of force does not lead anywhere.

In private conversations, Soviet participants admitted that the response to these ideas of Gorbachev in Eastern Europe was divided. Jaruzelski and Kadar in Poland and Hungary fully support them whereas the group of aging diehards runs the gamut from "unpersuadable Ceausescu to Husak and Zhivkov all the way to Honecker."

The Soviet representatives entreated the Western participants in the conference [to believe] that the Soviet Union is poised at the beginning of a truly "revolutionary" process in which the reordering of the economy and the relaxation of domestic policies play a principal part. Shifts in foreign and security policy must be viewed in this light by the West. " [Gorbachev] is making some unconventional decisions. Foreign policy is no longer a 'sacred cow' but a subject open to criticism. We stagnated for three decades and as part of the process of the national revival of current optimism, something will have to happen in this field."

The West is being called upon to work together with the Soviet Union. It is for the West to decide what kind of a Soviet Union it wishes to have: a garrison state which staggers from one crisis to the next or an economically and politically viable nation in which irreversible change is taking place. The fossilized administrative state, largely unchanged since the thirties, is now giving way to an "economy based on common sense and historical experience" and this puts an end to Stalinism at long last. To be sure, [the Soviet Union] wishes to have a "socialist market economy" -- not patterned after the Western model -- in which "objective economic rules are subordinated to political decisions."

Abandonment of [Military] Superiority

An expert from the America Institute, which has close ties to the Politburo, said that the reformulation of Soviet foreign policy is based on two assumptions. It proposes to view the world as a whole and to accept the fact that security can no longer be maintained by military means alone but only by means of "common security between East and West and in the international arena." [paragraph continues]

[The Soviet Union] has come to the realization that military means must be subordinated to political means, if the goal of military-strategic balance is to be attained. A memorandum on future Soviet military doctrine [it was said] contains both an appeal for the prevention of war and for the abandonment of [military] superiority. To turn this into a reality, it is necessary to redefine the relationship between defensive and offensive forces. "The Soviet Union was unwilling to accept the concept of deterrence. Today, it does so because the overall goal is the prevention of war. For this reason, the asymmetries between the Warsaw Pact and NATO must be eliminated. We readily admit that we have problems in this regard with our East European allies." Arms limitation, in other words, is the key to progress. The "correlation of forces," which has been the determining factor in Europe for the past 40 years, must give way to new ways of thinking. Some of the Soviet participants said they observed "some positive developments" in Geneva and Vienna. They agreed with the West that the prospects for an agreement on the elimination of medium-range weapons in Europe and thus for another Gorbachev-Reagan summit are good. On the other hand, it was plain to see that progress toward a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons would only be possible if Washington severely limits its SDI program and continues to adhere to strict compliance with the ABM Treaty. It remained unclear in the discussion how a breakthrough toward a mandate for conventional arms limitations "from the Atlantic to the Urals" might be achieved in Vienna. Western arguments to the effect that a repetition of the unsuccessful 14-year MBFR negotiations could only be avoided if the Soviet Union agreed that Warsaw Pact superiority in tanks, personnel and chemical weapons is the determining factor for NATO's present threat scenario were met with silence.

The Soviet participants also refused fully to accept the connection between East-West security issues in Europe and the situation in areas outside Europe. "They will become credible only once they withdraw their forces from Afghanistan," British and U.S. participants said. The response was that the Moscow leadership is firmly decided on doing just that but that the West "has no idea of the true situation in Afghanistan" and is in fact making it more difficult for the Soviets to withdraw because of its continued support for the Afghan rebels. The Soviet participants reacted heatedly and emotionally to the suggestion that fundamental change in the situation in East Europe would inevitably raise the German question anew. Repeated U.S. attempts to link security, stability and human rights were angrily dismissed.

All of this was followed by the threat that Gorbachev will be unable to push through his plans for reform, if the West insists on giving the world power Soviet Union "bad grades and constantly tries to put it in the wrong." All in all, however, the Western participants came away with the impression that the general secretary is pleading for understanding for a variety of reasons. But the question remained open as to whether a more flexible and less bureaucratic Soviet Union would serve as a stabilizing factor.

KONDRASHOV ON CHANGED WESTERN PERCEPTIONS OF USSR

PM081407 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Political Observer Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Echo in the West"]

[Text] Following the Central Committee plenum and the Supreme Soviet session, the ship of our state and society sailed out into a new ocean -- the fundamental restructuring of economic management. The route has been announced and mapped out, but the voyage is expected to be long, difficult, and unusual. [paragraph continues]

Our country's reputation in the international arena, in the world and in the eyes of the world, among other countries and peoples, will depend largely on how this voyage progresses and where we moor. This is because economic results are ultimately the main element of the reputation not only of individuals, but also of states, societies, and sociopolitical systems. What kind of worker are you, am I, is he? What kind of workers are we all as a people -- good, bad, or indifferent? Are affairs prospering in our hands, or is our heart not in them?

A state's international reputation is not only, and not so much, a reputation as diplomat or soldier, but primarily a reputation as worker. Our reputation has not been all that brilliant, especially in the last few years, when the gap separating us from developed capitalist countries in the advanced spheres of scientific and technical progress not only failed to close but, on the contrary, actually widened. Socialism must set a strong example and work not worse but better than capitalism -- this is the main international aspect of our economic restructuring.

But I would like to begin my review of responses from abroad with a domestic response. During the days of the plenum's work, I unintentionally overheard a conversation between two persons I did not know, evidently senior ministry officials. One of them said something that is perhaps not to be heard from the rostrum today, but can hardly have entirely escaped the notice of the appropriately educated generation.

"It is not turning out all that well," he said. "They've repeated for 70 years that there can be no crises at all in our country. Here is the party leader admitting before everyone: a pre-crisis condition of the economy. What will they think of us over there? We're only providing grist for their mills...."

It is difficult to blame someone for remaining loyal to that which he has been encouraged to believe for a long time. But it is impossible not to notice that these words express a false impression of patriotic duty, an impression dominated either by naive ignorance or by feckless immorality. While aware of the truth, this mentality leads them to opt for exaggerated reporting and window-dressing, and they are ultimately prepared to drive the economy not just into a pre-crisis situation but even into an actual full-blown crisis, just so long as the system of hard-line bureaucratic control over everyone and everything might survive, and just so long as we do not provide grist for their mills.

But meanwhile who were we kidding? Not even our own selves, because each one of us, standing in line and chasing goods in short supply, had the most scientific proof of the lack of economic prosperity. The truth was also known over there, in the West, and not just by CIA analysts and their clients. They knew the truth and banked on it, as well as on the fact that people in the Soviet Union refused to admit this truth officially, from prestigious rostrums.

Regarding grist for the mills, in one sense -- in a tragic sense for us but also in a literal sense -- it was they who provided, or rather sold to us, part of our grist. For over 20 years on end we have been purchasing grain abroad, using our nonrenewable mineral wealth to pay for the poverty of our fields which, in contrast with mineral wealth, are renewable. President Reagan reworded Lenin's famous formulation -- Who will defeat whom? Socialism or Capitalism? -- in a manner which suited him. Who will feed whom? -- this was the question he asked to assert before U.S. audiences the primacy of their agriculture over the Soviet and of the private ownership system over the socialist.

So, let us turn back to responses abroad to the plenum and the session -- and this time they have provided us with propaganda grist for our mills, because they soberly assessed the state of affairs and acclaimed the radical economic reform.

I will be unsparing of quotations from influential and 100-percent bourgeois publications.

West Germany's NEUE RUHR-ZEITUNG: "A properly functioning economy is necessary as a basis for the restructuring of society. The Soviet leader is now translating intentions into practical solutions. The pace is breathtaking."

London's THE GUARDIAN: "In the next 3 years, and if everything goes well, the Stalinist system of price formation, planning, and finance ought to change beyond recognition. Economic managers will occupy a more important position in the economy than functionaries, and the consumer will ultimately be given maybe a small but important opportunity to dictate his will. But the real struggle, the struggle to turn words and documents into deeds, has only just begun."

France's LE MONDE: "Anyone who has followed the Soviet economy's evolution over the last 15-20 years is in a position to appreciate the scale of the suggested transformations .... With the exception of perhaps employment, protected by the constitutional right to work, not a single sphere will remain unaffected by radical reforms .... The general secretary evidently has the political means to implement his revolutionary plans. The announcement that an all-union party conference will be conveyed next year threatens those who are in no hurry to bestir themselves, and shows that, even if opposition to these plans has not been crushed, it will be at least overcome. There are no illusions on this account. The reform is entering its most difficult stage -- the stage of practical deeds."

I have not tampered with the quotations so that readers could get a clearer impression of how Western observers perceive us. Yes, they are our ideological opponents, but they are also sober-minded and capable of objective reflections. The main fact that is singled out is the serious and radical nature of the changes occurring in the Soviet Union and the war against the unwieldly bureaucratic machine. They were guessing about how far and how decisively Moscow was prepared to march along the path of economic restructuring. Now they see: Far and decisively. There were also suppositions and speculations on the possible effect of opposition to the suggested measures. The results of the plenum and the Supreme Soviet session were perceived as victory by the champions of reform.

In my view, the following idea must also be singled out from among the responses abroad: The implementation of reform in the economic sphere is more difficult than, say, in culture and foreign policy. Despite the interaction and interpenetration of economic, ideological, and even diplomatic principles in social life, the economy remains the main foundation. A writer or journalist deals with the abstract materials of words, a diplomat deals with the incorporeal but exceptionally intractable matter of interstate relations, but the economy is not an atmosphere, it is the entire mass of society's physical wealth, a mass that is created with the passage of time through the labor of people in their tens of millions and determines their way of life and standards of living. The economy is our direct link with the world around us and determines our position in it through the idea of world standards of output quality.

The Western echo to economic reform is not the first echo to changes in the Soviet Union. If restructuring itself is a lengthy and complex process, the response to it is also a process. At the first stages of restructuring we only had the initial stages of Western response to it. That was just an attitude toward our plans and intentions. When the plans become reality, responses will start turning into policies. So far, as THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, they "have time to ponder the effect of a prosperous or poorer Soviet Union on the West's security."

Ruling circles in the United States display greater restraint, caution, and direct suspicion than in West Europe. Washington cannot suppress the fear, irrational on the whole, that Moscow might "seduce" the U.S. allies. As far as the public is concerned, benevolent interest in the USSR has sharply increased also in the United States, even though no polls have been published yet showing that Americans are more in favor of Soviet rather than U.S. policy in the arms control sphere. Yet, this is almost a typical phenomenon in West Europe. Even though I must say that even West Europe is not an unambiguous term, and that there are more skeptics as regards Soviet restructuring in France than in the British Isles or the Netherlands.

Following his trip to Moscow with Margaret Thatcher, Britain's Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe suggested three principles of approach toward the Soviet Union: Realism -- including absence of illusions -- vigilance, and open-mindedness. The new element is the stress on open-mindedness, which is still in acutely short supply in the West. Guided by this principle, Geoffrey Howe believes that the Soviet leadership "really wants to place East-West relations on a more stable basis."

"This spirit of changes in approach toward the outside world serves to reflect changes inside the country," he stressed. "We must decide whether we welcome this atmosphere of changes or not. The prime minister and I declared with utmost clarity in Moscow that we welcomed it."

What does this mean: "We welcome it?" Do others welcome it? Apart from frenzied militarists and professional haters who are not all that many, yes, others do welcome it, the overwhelming majority welcomes it. Despite all the aforementioned differences, broad agreement exists -- regarding the fact that the Soviet Union, through its dynamic and flexible foreign policy, makes a greater contribution than before to the strengthening of international stability and our absorption in restructuring itself offers an incontrovertible guarantee of our peaceful aspirations. In this way restructuring is more effective than anything else in demolishing the main bastion of the militarists -- the "Soviet threat" myth. Restructuring consolidates the positions of sober-minded people in the West and offers them an argument which cannot be rebuffed by the declared enemies of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet press writes at great length about how our image has changed in the eyes of the public abroad, but it writes less about the fact that Western statesmen now depart the Soviet Union with new impressions. Just three quotations to somewhat make up for this omission.

French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac: "There has been a change in the very nature of our relations which, I think, will become more sincere and will improve since we have a better understanding of one another .....Completely different people.... The very nature of dialogue has changed....Objections are accepted normally, there is a direct response. This is proper human dialogue....The present Soviet leadership is deeply committed to the ideas of socialism even though it is striving to renew and reform it. Nonetheless, this does not mean that we are adversaries."

U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Jim Wright: "Now we meet a new group, not just one man but a group of polite, experienced, and eloquent people having a certain idea of our processes and a certain respect for our processes, people with a sense of humor, people prepared to answer our questions without beating about the bush and to allow us to see the things we wanted to see, including Chernobyl.... We now have the best opportunity, probably for the first time since the Russian revolution, to reach a mutually acceptable accord on arms control."

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz: "Generally speaking, I probably can say that changes have taken place in the Soviet Union. The picture now is completely different from what it was when I traveled here in the early seventies...."

So, the official West is no longer so sparing of compliments to the Soviet leaders. Are those to whom they are addressed prepared to accept them? Are we all prepared to accept them? Evidently, yes. But only to a certain extent. To the extent that this praise does away with one of the West's traditional arguments: That it is impossible to conduct political and diplomatic dialogue with the Soviets -- rude, intransigent, and proceeding from the idea of their own infallibility. The dialogue taking place now is lively and completely pleasant, even with a sense of humor.

Manners are one thing, however, and matters of substance are something else. The practical shortage of "new thinking" in the West is even more noticeable against the background of positive developments and changes in the Soviet Union. Yes, restructuring does work to build up confidence and thus creates new opportunities for the solution of international problems, and primarily arms reduction. But the windows to these opportunities must be opened not only by the Soviet Union but also by its partners. We ask of them no more than we ask of ourselves. Restructuring gives us the moral and political right to expect from the West the same good will that the Soviet Union tirelessly displays.

KORIONOV ON REACTION TO PLENUM'S 'MILESTONE'

PM081557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 87 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA Political Observer Vitaliy Korionov]

[Text] Specialists on the USSR and the U.S. media have "organized around-the-clock monitoring of events in Moscow," a well-known U.S. economist states. Since the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress this "around-the-clock monitoring" has been increasing and it has become particularly intense since the Central Committee June Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The stream of reactions to the plenum's decisions in the world media has now given way to in-depth analysis of the documents. It is stated that in terms of the scale and importance of its decisions the plenum will be an historic milestone in the development of Soviet society. "From the heights of the party forum, the CPSU is looking into the 21st century" -- you will find this statement in more than one foreign publication. Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES calls the documents of the plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session "evidence of political strength." THE WASHINGTON POST believes that a "new stage has come in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's program for restructuring the Soviet economy." There is "great boldness in implementing the economic transformations," Japan's MAINICHI states.

Since the Central Committee April Plenum and the 27th congress, people in our country have become increasingly aware that it is impossible to live and work in the old way. But there has been no radical change as yet. As was stated at the June plenum, we are presently on the first wave of restructuring, which has merely stirred up the stagnant water.

Many capitalist politicians and ideologists are aware that enormous potential rests in the very nature of socialism, and that the current Soviet reforms are paving the way for the full implementation of this potential. Which makes them try all the harder to reassure themselves and impose on people the idea that the transformations planned by the CPSU cannot be implemented. Bourgeois propaganda is doing its utmost to peddle to readers, listeners, and viewers the idea that socialism is "incapable of bringing about any positive results and changes by itself." The creators of this erroneous thesis choose to overlook the indisputable historical fact that socialism in the Soviet Union has raised a vast country out of age-old backwardness to progress in a few decades. But what has it to do with the facts when, for example, the French magazine L'EXPRESS claims: "Impossible reforms."

The masters of incitement do not stop short at political provocations. One might mention, for example, the efforts by Western press organs to assure people that there apparently exists a certain insurmountable antagonism between the CPSU leadership and the "bureaucratic apparatus of the party and state."

But it is increasingly apparent that these glum prophecies are being replaced by the realization by reasonable circles in the West that the frank admission of shortcomings and errors is evidence of the CPSU's ability to find the right ways to solve the new tasks that are arising.

As the mist of imperialist propaganda's lies and slander against the USSR disperses the true face of the Soviet land, confidently established on the path of a new upsurge, becomes ever more visible to millions and millions of people.

The current debate in the Western press is typical. It focuses on the question of what consequences Soviet restructuring will have for the world, above all for the West.

It would be naive to expect politicians and press organs locked in the ice of the cold war and troglodytic anticommunism to be able to objectively evaluate the essential nature of restructuring in the USSR and draw reasonable conclusions from this. They are still brandishing the "Soviet threat" bugbear, insisting that as a result of the implementation of the plans outlined by the CPSU, the Soviet Union will be even stronger and therefore "even more dangerous" to the West. It is true, of course, that we will be stronger, but what kind of threat can a state pose to other countries when it has flung open all the doors to democracy and openness and is honestly and purposefully pursuing a policy of peace? Hitherto they have insisted that the USSR is dangerous because it is a "totalitarian" state and there is "little democracy" in it. Now they claim that the USSR is dangerous because it is implementing the slogan: "More democracy." Where is the logic in that?

Some of our enemies announce that world public opinion polls show that the reputation of the United States is declining and the USSR's foreign policy line is gaining more and more sympathy. So why doesn't the United States start competing with the Soviet Union in the sphere of the struggle for the cessation of the arms race, for nuclear disarmament? After all, that is far more productive than increasing confrontation.

Not surprisingly, press organs which reflect, in particular, the views of certain big business circles, are also recommending a more objective view of the processes under way in the USSR. The USSR, the U.S. JOURNAL OF COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL, for example, notes, is beginning to offer the world an "attractive alternative." "Primitive anticommunism, which is content to slap the 'empire of evil' label on the Soviet Union, must now," the paper believes, "give way to a serious and sober assessment of the motives and potential of a state which is driven by its own national interests."

Moreover, there is a growing realization in Western business circles that there is even some common ground between the national interests of the USSR and the Western countries. In particular, it is becoming increasingly apparent that without comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union the capitalist world will not cope with the problems of its increasingly complex economy.

The Soviet Union, realistically minded circles in Western Europe, the United States, and Japan warn, has buckled down to tackling its economic problems; it is not a brief campaign, but a strategy which also creates promising prospects for the West.

Harald Dettse [published], chief editor of the FRG-published magazine OST-WEST KOMMERZ, notes that the scale of the economic reforms in the USSR is impressive and expresses the belief that the experiment that has been started, including the transfer of enterprises to economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, is geared to making the Soviet economy an important factor in the world economy. From the viewpoint of FRG business circles, H. Dettse continues, this meets the West's interests, because, as a result, one can expect an increase in trade with Soviet partners and organize closer cooperation with them. Gunter Storch, [name as published] member of the board of the Rheinland-Pfalz bank of Mainz also believes economic reforms in the Soviet Union will have a favorable impact in terms of improving trade and economic cooperation between East and West.

Certain U.S. bourgeois economists are expressing regret at the fact that the Soviet Union is tackling economic problems in its own way, not wishing to follow the recipes offered by capitalism. But these "well-wishers" are wasting their energy. The enormous potential of socialism is confirmed by life and Soviet people see it as their sole aim to fully reveal and exploit this potential.

An interesting parallel is drawn by some Western press organs between the current measures in the USSR and the efforts by Western countries' leaders to solve the economic problems that life throws up for these countries. One hears curious admissions. For example, the British paper THE GUARDIAN draws attention to the "unpleasant associations" evoked by the contrast "between the face of a renewed Moscow under the dynamic leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev and the weak administration in Washington headed by President Reagan."

In this regard, observers compare Moscow's actions and the measures to improve the capitalist economy which the leaders of the seven leading capitalist states tried to elaborate at the recent meeting in Venice. Robert Remo, a correspondent for the U.S. newspaper NEWSDAY, who covered the conference of "the Seven," voiced the opinion that if sufficiently serious reforms are carried out in the Soviet economy it will lead to a complete change in international economic relations. Noting that the Soviet economy is the second largest in the world, he writes: "If it manages to achieve Western standards of productivity, receptivity, and growth the USSR could quite suddenly become a more important factor in the world economy than all seven of the states which held the summit meeting in Venice." This warning by a newspaper that expresses the interests of U.S. big business (although it calls itself "independent") is symptomatic, I believe.

Soviet people know what a complex and difficult path we have traveled over seven decades and they are aware that they now have to solve tasks that are even more complex and crucial. But they also know what colossal strength there is in the system brought into being by October. Soviet patriots are fully resolved to reveal this potential completely. And exploit it not only to make their fatherland prosper, but also in the interests of strengthening world peace and progress for the whole of mankind.

GAVRILIN ON 'ABSURD' W. BERLIN OLYMPICS PROPOSAL

PM151413 Moscow SOVETSKIY SPORT in Russian 4 Jul 87 p 4

[Unattributed interview with V.M. Gavrilin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and deputy chairman of the Soviet National Olympic Committee, under the rubric "Focusing on Olympic Problems": "Provocation? Without a Doubt!"]

[Text] The situation surrounding the 1988 summmer Olympic games has been noticeably aggravated recently. In this regard, we put a number of questions to V.M. Gavrilin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and deputy chairman of the Soviet National Olympic Committee. We now bring this interview with him to readers' attention.

[Correspondent] A number of NATO countries have lately launched a noisy propaganda campaign aimed at holding the 1988 Olympic Games in West Berlin. What can you say about this?

[Gavrilin] As is well known, an extremely tense political situation has developed recently in the city in which it is planned to hold the 1988 summer Olympic games -- Seoul -- and throughout South Korea as a whole. There have been stormy demonstrations by students and other strata of South Korean society opposed to Chon Tu-hwan's undemocratic regime.

Using this as a pretext, some sports and political figures in Western countries have come up with the provocative idea of holding the 1988 Olympics in West Berlin. This proposal has been seized on by certain circles in the FRG and is now being actively blown up in the press.

It should be pointed out in this respect that all questions concerning the choice of location for the Olympic Games are within the competence of the International Olympic Committee. For our part, Soviet sports organizations and our National Olympic Committee categorically reject the possibility of holding the Olympic games in West Berlin.

As is well known, West Berlin enjoys special status. It does not have its own Olympic Committee recognized by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). It is important to stress the absolute impermissibility of any attempts to extend the competence of the FRG National Olympic Committee to West Berlin, as this would be a most flagrant violation of the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

I would like to note that the idea of holding the Olympics in West Berlin is directed against the Olympic movement and the Olympic Charter. Some figures in the West who are casting themselves in the role of zealous champions of Olympic ideals by putting forward these proposals, are in actual fact causing this movement appreciable damage. They are pursuing quite different aims that are far removed from sport. Their announcements and plans sometimes frankly reek of revanchism.

The present campaign evidently pursues the aims of reinflaming relations between the FRG and the GDR and violating West Berlin's present legal status.

[Correspondent] Obviously, in addition to the political issues involved in holding such a major sporting event as the Olympic games, other questions, such as organizational aspects, must also be taken into account?

[Gavrilin] Undoubtedly. Considering our experience of preparing and holding the 1980 Olympic games in Moscow, I can say with confidence that it is a task involving an enormous amount of work at a number of different levels. The scale of the summer games is so great that no city, even with the most developed infrastructure, can implement an extensive construction program in a short space of time -- even build an Olympic village -- and guarantee all the organizational aspects at the proper level.

From this viewpoint proposals to hold the games in West Berlin just 1 year before they begin are absurd.

All this makes one think that the campaign launched in the West is exclusively political and propagandist. It is aimed at undermining existing political settlements.

[Correspondent] What can you say at present about the USSR National Olympic Committee's attitude to the 1988 games?

[Gavrilin] I would like to repeat the point that the right to decide the location of the games rests solely with the IOC. Despite objections by many members of the Olympic movement, including the USSR National Olympic Committee (NOC), the 1981 IOC session gave the right to Seoul to organize the 1988 Olympics. This choice was regarded as unfortunate from the very beginning. However, the IOC confirmed its decision in 1984.

The IOC, international sports federations, and national Olympic committees have been preparing for the 24th Olympic games for many years.

As is well known, in the process of these preparations the DPRK NOC raised the question of holding the games jointly in North and South Korea. Soviet sports organizations and organizations in many other countries supported this proposal. The IOC gave its consent. Talks are under way between the DPRK NOC, the South Korean NOC, and the IOC with the aim of working out the conditions for the games to be jointly held. It is our firm belief that a positive solution to this question would help to strengthen the Olympic movement.

Regarding Soviet sportsmen participating in the 1988 Olympic games, as is well known, the USSR NOC has already accepted the invitation to the winter games in Calgary. Our sportsmen are also preparing for the summer games, but the question of their participation will be discussed within the IOC time limit, that is, 8 months before the start of the games.

U.S. NAVAL ESCORT PLANS IN GULF 'DANGEROUS GAME'

LD151951 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 87

[Video talk by PRAVDA foreign news editor Tomas Kolesnichenko from the "Vremya" program]

[Text] Hello, comrades. The Iran-Iraq war is threatening to soon escalate into an international crisis situation. One might say that tension is mounting in the Persian Gulf with every passing day. Yesterday relations between France and Iran worsened, but the most important thing will begin on 22 July. On that day, it became known today, the United States is proposing to begin using naval ships to escort Kuwaiti tankers.

The U.S. naval armada -- and this involves the aircraft-carrier Constellation, 15 warships, and 11,000 servicemen -- is a direct threat to the states in this region. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, for instance, has been stating that the United States will strike at Iranian missile installations, even if the suspicion arises that they are being prepared for use. This is, to all intents and purposes, a threat to make a preemptive strike, although Weinberger himself rules out such a possibility.

One's attention is drawn to the fact that the United States is stepping up its military presence in the Persian Gulf on the threshold of the UN Security Council's adoption of a resolution calling for a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war. In other words, eliminating the conflict is not to the liking of Reagan's administration, for which the most important thing is to establish its military and political dominance in this strategically important area declared an area of U.S. vital interests.

Incidentally, this constitutes the essence of Washington's approach to regional conflicts. This is a dangerous game, which is dangerous for Reagan, too. After all, if the Americans lose even one ship in the Persian Gulf, his Presidency could find itself on the brink of downfall. Nevertheless, he is taking the risk. One asks oneself why this is. I think there are two main reasons here. First, there are persistent thoughts and fears that the Soviet Union will establish itself in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf will become, in the words of Baker, the President's closest aide, a Russian lake. Second, there is an attempt to switch public attention from the Iran-contra scandal, which has greatly undermined the administration. Now, it is claimed, there is a chance to rehabilitate oneself and to enter into conflict with the same Iran to which previously weapons were being secretly delivered. Does one need to say just how adventurist this is?

But what is the way out? The Soviet Union is proposing that all warships of states not belonging to the area be withdrawn as soon as possible from the Gulf waters, provided that Iran and Iraq refrain from actions that create a threat to international shipping. It is this measure that is needed and not a gunboat policy that can only kindle war both in the Persian Gulf and throughout the Near East.

WEINBERGER WARNS IRAN, NOTES READINESS TO STRIKE

LD141828 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 14 Jul 87

[Text] Washington July 14 TASS -- The United States Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has threatened Iran and stated readiness to strike at Iranian territory in the event of "hostile intent" shown by that country.

"Nobody's talking about preemptive strikes", the head of the Pentagon said. "What we're talking about is responding to evidence of hostile intent". "But it is important also to know that we would not contemplate waiting until we actually received a hit", he stressed. As reported by THE WASHINGTON POST, the minister also confirmed the administration's intent to start in the nearest future the escorting of Kuwaiti vessels in the Persian Gulf by American naval ships. This will require a drastic increase of American military presence and this will lead to a further growth of tension in one of the planet's flashpoints.

The head of the Pentagon said that the battleship "Missouri" will soon be sent to the Persian Gulf where a big group of American naval ships is already concentrated. Also cruising near that area is the aircraft carrier "Constellation" with support ships. It follows from Weinberger's statements that the Pentagon intends to carry out also other plans of beefing up sea and air forces in that region. These plans encounter widespread opposition in the United States Congress where serious alarm is being voiced about the possibility of the United States being drawn into a large-scale armed conflict. These sentiments found their reflection in a decision of the House of Representatives urging the White House to postpone by three months the plans to escort Kuwaiti ships. The secretary of defense clearly intimated that the administration does not intend to heed the opinion of Congress.

U.S. ESCORT DEFERMENT REFLECTS CONGRESS' CONCERNS

PM100925 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Congress Insists on Deferment"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Jul -- The White House policy of fueling tension in the Persian Gulf region "is encountering mounting resistance in U.S. Congress," ABC television reports. The House of Representatives' adoption of a decision emphasizing the need to defer plans for U.S. Navy ships to escort Kuwaiti ships reflects the concern on Capitol Hill regarding the buildup of U.S. military presence in one of the planet's "hot spots."

On Wednesday, by a majority of 222 to 184, the congressmen approved an amendment to the appropriations bill on the needs of the U.S. Coast Guard for fiscal 1988, which provides for a 3-month deferment of the administration's plans in the Persian Gulf. "There is no crisis in the Gulf, oil is continuing to come through it. There is no need for haste. The deferment will make it possible to make a sensible decision," Democrat T. Lantos said during the debates. L. Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has pointed out that making this decision "attests to dissatisfaction in Congress at the White House's course in the Persian Gulf."

Previously the House of Representatives had rejected by 288 to 126 a proposal containing an appeal to the administration to totally reject plans for escorting Kuwaiti ships, which reflected the inconsistency of the U.S. legislators' position.

Administration representatives who spoke on the ABC program admitted that U.S. Navy operations in the Persian Gulf "are accompanied by a risk." In particular this was stated by F. Carlucci, the President's assistant for national security. "While the United States is discussing the danger connected with U.S. Navy ships escorting Kuwaiti ships," the program's introducer stated, "these ships are passing through the waters of the Gulf without any escort and without incident of any kind."

PRC SPOKESMAN DENIES ARMY KILLED TIBETANS

PM101825 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Report Denied"]

[Text] Beijing, 9 July -- A spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has denied an AFP report that Chinese Army units stationed in Tibet had allegedly killed more than 20 Tibetan peasants. As XINHUA has reported, the spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs described the French agency's report as a lie designed to undermine national unity and divide China.

PRC TRADE UNION DELEGATION VISITS SOVIET UNION

Visits Estonian Fishery

OW030657 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0100 GMT 30 Jun 87

[Text] A delegation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The Chinese guests visited the Jinov fishery cooperative in the Estonian Republic and the new Tallin harbor in the capital of the republic.

Zhang Fuyou, head of the delegation and secretary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, told a TASS reporter: During our visit, we have seen the reform of economic mechanisms and the social development in the Soviet Union. He said: Take Estonia, for instance. We have noticed that the trade unions play a great role in economic reform and social development. We have also seen how the trade unions are reforming themselves.

(Lesjinyiye), secretary of the Trade Union Council of Estonia, received the Chinese guests.

Tours Kolkhoz

PM071155 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Jul 87 p 3

[TASS report: "To Strengthen Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Tallin, 1 Jul -- Members of the PRC National Trade Union Federation delegation who have been in Estonia at the invitation of the AUCCTU visited a specialized sector of the Pyarnu Interkolkhoz Construction Organization and the "Edazi" kolkhoz in Pyarnuskiy Rayon.

"The restructuring of economic and social life in the Soviet Union," Zhang Fuyou, head of the delegation and secretary of the PRC National Trade Union Federation, told our TASS correspondent, "is arousing keen interest among Chinese working people, who have a deep sense of friendship for the Soviet people. Our visit is part of the mutual exchange of experience aimed at strengthening mutual understanding between USSR and PRC trade unions."

The trade union delegation from the PRC was received in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Arrives in Minsk

LD031415 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 3 Jul 87

[Text] Minsk July 3 TASS -- A delegation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions led by its secretary Zhang Fuyou has arrived in Minsk.

It is staying in the USSR at the invitation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions. The guests familiarized themselves with the work of trade union organizations at factories and institutions in Minsk.

Zhang Fuyou expressed satisfaction with the resumption of contacts between Soviet and Chinese trade unions.

The delegation will spend several days here before going to Kiev, capital of the Soviet Ukraine.

Departs for Beijing

PM071827 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Jul 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] A delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by Federation Secretary Zhang Fuyou, which had been in the USSR at the invitation of the AUCCTU, left Moscow for Beijing 6 July.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev, V. Ye. Sergeyev, chief of the AUCCTU Department for Ties With Socialist Countries' Trade Unions, and other AUCCTU senior officials.

USSR, PRC PUBLISHERS SIGN FIRST-EVER AGREEMENT

PM081101 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Jun 87 p 5

[N. Furmanov report under the rubric "Culture News": Mutual Interest"]

[Text] At the end of May this year a protocol was signed in Beijing on business exchange for 1988-1989 between the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade and the PRC State Administration for Information Affairs and Publishing Houses. This is the first agreement on cooperation in the history of relations between the Soviet Union's and China's book publishers and reflects their desire to strengthen business links.

The document is also a unique result of the contacts that began to be formed between the two countries' publishers in the late seventies, when a perceptible revival in Chinese book publishing began following the years of the "Cultural Revolution." Last year in China the "Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary" was published in Chinese.

In 1984 the sale of Soviet books in Beijing and Chinese books in Moscow was resumed. In late 1986 the two countries' books also began to be sold in Leningrad and Kiev and in Shanghai and Changchun. This year the retail sale of illustrated magazines KITAY and SOVETSKIY SOYUZ started in the USSR and China. Mutual interest in the life of our countries is growing, and at the same time purchases of original literature are increasing.

Since 1983 the PRC has regularly taken part in the Moscow international book fairs, while last year the Soviet Union took part in the first organized Beijing International Book Fair. The sale exhibitions of Soviet books held in the PRC since 1982 have also enjoyed great success. In respect of the number of Soviet books published in translation, China firmly occupies one of the leading places in the world. It is pleasing to note that in 1990 it is planned to complete the publication in China of the 60-volume Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin in Chinese, and that the Soviet side has provided assistance in gathering materials for this publication.

It may be considered that a qualitatively new stage in cooperation began in 1985, when the Chinese side signed an agreement on a joint facsimile edition of the novel "Dream in the Red Tower," based on a manuscript preserved in Leningrad. Soviet and Chinese scholars prepared a preface for this which is one of the most popular works in China. In the next few years there will be joint publications of bilingual dictionaries that have been prepared, educational textbooks in Russian, and albums of Chinese and Soviet art.

The "Avora" and "Narodnoye Iskusstvo" publishing houses are publishing jointly in the near future a unique album of Chinese national pictures from Soviet collections published in Russian and Chinese.

Work has started in the Soviet Union on the preparation for publication of a 40-volume library of Chinese literature. In recent years Soviet readers have already had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with translations of the best works of modern Chinese writers as part of a number of collections of Chinese prose.

However, all these are perhaps only the first steps in cooperation. The protocol that has been signed presupposes the further strengthening of ties between the Soviet Union's and China's book publishers, the development of contacts in new directions, the improvement of the system of reciprocal information on new publications, and the organization of an exhibition exchange.

BRIEFS

WATER RESOURCE EXPEDITION -- A Soviet-Chinese expedition along the Amur has been crowned with success today. During the course of 3 weeks specialists of the USSR and the PRC investigated the largest Far Eastern river along the border between the two countries. Prospecting work was carried out in accordance with a plan confirmed by a Soviet-Chinese commission for working out the comprehensive use of water resources of border sections of the rivers Argun and Amur. Today in Blagoveshchensk the leaders of the Soviet and Chinese research groups signed a final document on the results of the investigation. They also have to prepare in a short period of time a joint report for the consideration of the Soviet-Chinese commission in the autumn of this year. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Servcice in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Jul 87 LD]

IVKIN ASSESSES LABOR ELECTION WIN IN AUSTRALIA

PM151607 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 87 Second Edition p 5

["Commentator's Column" by Aleksey Ivkin: "Labor Gets In"]

[Text] Sydney -- The Labor Party has won a convincing victory in the elections to the federal parliament -- the House of Representatives and the Senate -- in Australia. This will allow it once again to form a one-party government...

This result of Saturday's poll surprised nobody, I think. Not because the Australians particularly liked the rule of Robert Hawke's Labor cabinet but because the political program of the majority of opposition parties was found wanting in the eyes of the majority of voters. In addition to this, the ceaseless arguments inside their own camp markedly harmed Labor's rivals.

At the same time during the election campaign none of the leading parties put forward a realistic way to solve the acute problems facing the country. Problems like the huge budget deficit, the growing foreign debt, and the weakness of the local currency. The opposition rightly pointed to the fact that during the years of Labor government the living standards of Australian families existing on wages and social benefits have fallen, unemployment has grown, particularly among young people, and financial difficulties have become more acute. For its part the Labor Party argued that before it came to power the country generally was on the verge of economic disaster, but now the situation is slowly being remedied and it would be even better if the government were given more time to finish the planned measures.

Left-wing parties in Australia note that in recent years the Labor Party has markedly "moved to the right" and has often openly encroached upon working people's interests, flirting with the monopolies. Nonetheless, they think that the alternative to Labor in present-day Australia would be the advent in power of more right-wing forces.

Although it is generally believed that Australians above all "vote according to their pocket" and foreign policy is almost last on their list of priorities, it was precisely the intention to follow an openly pro-U.S. foreign policy which alienated many voters from supporting the Liberal and National Party candidates. In this sense Labor looked significantly more attractive. As a public opinion poll showed, most voters are in favor of Canberra conducting a more autonomous policy on the most important questions of war and peace, a policy independent of Washington. And in opting for labor, many voters were voting precisely for this.

DRA OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON MULTIPARTY SYSTEM

LD100752 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 9 Jul 87

[Report by Kabul correspondent Boris Savodyan]

[Text] A law regulating the activities of political parties has been adopted by a decree of the DRA Revolutionary Council Presidium. I have asked Gholam Mohyioddin Amar, secretary of the DRA Revolutionary Council Presidium, to comment on the content of the document.

[Begin Amar recording in vernacular, fading into Savodyan's Russian report] Gholam Mohyioddin Amar says that the law provides conditions for the legalization of the existing parties and for the possible emergence of new ones. The existence of many parties is not in conflict with the essence of the national democratic revolution. It goes without saying that in a multiparty system the relations between the ruling PDPA and other parties and organizations will take shape in various ways. The PDPA will seek to establish the closest relations with the parties and organizations that are similar to it on the ideological-theoretical and political levels -- such as the Revolutionary Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan will seek to establish the closest relations with the parties and organizations that are similar to it on the ideological-theroetical and political levels -- such as the Revolutionary Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan, the Labor Group, and others. They share with the PDPA not only fundamental principles, but, to an even greater degree, their outlook on the future too. Today, Gholam Mohyioddin Amar continues, there are in Afghanistan the social and political preconditions for the emergence of a Peasant Party, and a Peace-Making People's Party of Afghanistan which the priests would join. It is not excluded that, in the future, there will arise the a need to create a Democratic Party that reflects the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

All in all, the creation of a bloc will remove the political isolation of the PDPA which is obliged to resist single-handedly counterrevolutionary forces.

Naturally, if any party from the Alliance of the Seven [not further identified] or from the centrist, monarchist organizations agrees to national reconciliation and to its legalization in Afghanistan, the PDPA is ready for constructive cooperation.

Our country is on the verge of creating all-Afghan unions and associations of artisans, the owners of means of transport, shopkeepers, and so on. This is a healthy phenomenon. It expresses the broadening of the social base and the processes of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, said Gholam Mohyioddin Amar, member of the DRA Revolutionary Council Presidium, in conclusion. [end recording]

KORNILOV NOTES AFGHANISTAN'S RECONCILIATION POLICY

LD131936 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 13 Jul 87

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul (TASS) -- TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

A decree and an act have been passed in Kabul on legalizing parties which currently lead an underground existence and on the creation of new ones.

In accordance with this national entrepreneurs, peasants, and the clergy now have the right to set up parties which have their own views on questions of theory, strategy, and tactics but which adhere to a common aim -- the most rapid establishment of peace throughout the country. This act is further convincing testimony to the fact that the policy of national reconciliation, proclaimed 6 months ago by the Afghan leadership, is a policy which is realistic, forward-looking, and which creates the objective preconditions for forming an effective coalition of democratic and patriotic forces. This could put an end to the bloodshed and facilitate a resolution of the tasks facing the republic.

The fact that the policy of national reconciliation is -- despite all the difficulties and complexities -- being put into practice step by step, is also borne out by the following information: In spite of the obstacles being created by the Pakistani and Iranian authorities, more than 62,000 refugees have already returned home to Afghanistan, while 25,000 members of the armed formations have voluntarily laid down their arms. The realistic nature of this policy has also been confirmed by the Assembly of Nomads which took place in Afghanistan -- the first in the country's history. There, leaders, elders, and respected religious figures, while stressing that all Afghans have one homeland -- independent, neutral, and nonaligned Afghanistan -- adopted a resolution in support of the policy of national reconciliation.

Of course, the policy of national reconciliation and ending bloodshed would be put into effect far faster and more successfully if it were not for the fierce opposition of imperialist and reactionary forces who have no interest in settling the situation both in Afghanistan and surrounding it. The Pentagon informed the U.S. Congress the other day of its intention to supply Pakistan with a large consignment of antitank weapons and over 2,000 Tow missiles, and many of these weapons are destined for dushman formations. And now the UPI agency reports on U.S. plans to supply the dushmans with a fresh major consignment of Stinger antiaircraft missiles.

The weapons which are used in the undeclared war against Afghanistan bear not only the inscription "Made in USA" but also the symbol "Made in England", for London is indeed supplying the counterrevolutionary bands with Blowpipe antiaircraft missiles and other weapons. These actions by the British Government, which are seen quite justifiably by the DRA Foreign Ministry as gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and a violation of commonly accepted international standards, are aimed at undermining the process of national reconciliation in the country. This cannot fail to provoke serious concern and protests from the public in Asia and internationally.

Western, including U.S. and British propaganda centers, are becoming refined in their appeals for "restoration of the freedom and independence of the Afghan people". But no hypocritical propaganda fireworks can conceal from the world public the truth about who it is that is kindling the war against sovereign Afghanistan and who it is that is hindering national reconciliation and a political settlement of the situation surrounding this country.

WESTERN INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN CITED

LD131735 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 13 Jul 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Text] All of us read the reports from Afghanistan with special attention and hope. The situation along our southern border and the schedule for the return home of Soviet soldiers and officers, impatiently awaited by their relatives and friends as well as by the entire Soviet people, depend alike upon what course events in that country will take.

This has to be mentioned yet again because the situation in Afghanistan is rather complicated. The Afghan leadership's national reconciliation course, its desire to set up a unified, sovereign, and nonaligned Afghanistan pursuing peace-loving and friendly policies toward its neighbors have met with the opposition of extremist counterrevolutionary circles and their Western patrons.

Those who have now been so vocal about the Afghan people's tragedy for almost 10 years do not wish, in essence, to give them the right of free choice and are guilty of the continuation of this tragedy. This year, Washington intends to deliver to the bandit gangs a new and large consignment of Stinger missiles, UPI reported today, citing CIA sources. The bandits, who carry out raids on Afghan towns and villages, will have a further 600 of these missiles delivered. One of them, as you will recall, was recently used to shoot down an airliner of the Ariana Civil airlines, as a result of which dozens of defenseless people lost their lives. It is the bandits who fire the Stingers -- but it is the American instructors who train them to do it. As UPI notes, the involvement of former U.S. servicemen now resident in Pakistan in training the bandits in the use of Stinger missiles is currently under consideration.

London, too, is striving not to be left behind Washington. Great Britain's charge d'affaires ad interim in Kabul was handed a note of protest. The British Government, says this document, expands the scale of its participation in the undeclared war against Afghanistan, making available the most modern weapons, including antiaircraft Blowpipe missiles, to the counterrevolutionary gangs which are waging a struggle against the legitimate government. It has become known that a British intelligence service employee, (Peter Price), had contacts with the leaders of the bandit formations, preparing the ground to organize their meeting with Margaret Thatcher and also to hand over the Blowpipe missiles for the counterrevolutionaries' disposal. It is symptomatic that the British Government failed to deny these reports, while recent utterances by Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe about the need to supply the Afghan rebels with the most up to date weapons confirm for the umpteenth time the desire of the British ruling circles to wreck the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan.

All the same, difficulties and obstacles notwithstanding, this objective process, was born of the very course of events in Afghanistan. Here are just some facts: The ranks of the counterrevolution are becoming thinner and thinner; 25,000 former bandits have laid down their arms so far; more than 60,000 Afghans, deceived by counterrevolutionary forces, have returned home. The Kabul government has established contacts and is engaged in a dialogue with 110 armed groups numbering more than 100,000 fighters. Acting on a proposal from the National Reconciliation Commission, the Afghan leadership is examining the question of extending the unilaterally announced cease-fire, as is known, on 15 January this year. Kabul is doing all it can to achieve the speediest possible halt to the bloodshed, to set up a broad coalition government with the participation of various political, public, and national forces.

A session of the Revolutionary Council of democratic Afghanistan adopted a decision to put forward the draft of the country's new constitution for nationwide discussion. Step by step, the process of national reconciliation receives new stimulus. This process is, however, not a one-way street.

Will peace arrive soon on the much-suffering Afghan soil? This depends a lot on the United States, its Western allies, Pakistan, and Iran.

AFGHANISTAN'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION ENDORSED

LD130820 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 13 Jul 87

[Text] Kabul July 13 TASS -- Afghanistan's Revolutionary Council has decided to put Afghanistan's draft constitution to nationwide discussion.

The supreme body of state power, BAKHTAR News Agency reports, has endorsed the draft main law and decreed to publish it in the press. The Revolutionary Council urged all Afghans, including those living abroad, to take an active part in the discussion. The draft constitution, complete with amendments, will then be endorsed by the republic's Revolutionary Council and put before the great jirgah.

U.S. GULF BUILDUP PRESAGES STRIKE ON IRAN

PM160959 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jul 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Building Up Military Might"]

[Text] New York, 13 Jul -- U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger justified the buildup of U.S. military might in the Persian Gulf in an article published in Sunday's issue of NEWSDAY. This policy, the defense secretary claimed, is designed to ensure "freedom of navigation" and help "strengthen regional stability" and even end the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Pentagon chief again claimed there was "increasing Soviet influence" in the Persian Gulf, which, he said, "must be impeded."

However, even the U.S. press is voicing grave doubts as to whether the goals enumerated by the defense secretary reflect Washington's real aims in the region. A special editorial note inserted in the body of Weinberger's NEWSDAY article points out that Weinberger's response to the Soviet proposal that foreign warships be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf has been to say that it is the U.S. intention to maintain a military presence there.

In an interview in the CHICAGO TRIBUNE an unnamed "specialist on shipping problems" stated: "In my opinion, the United States is seeking a pretext to carry out the same kind of strike against Iran that it carried out against Libya." The newspaper comments that "Western diplomats who share that assessment maintain that the course of confrontation with Iran was sealed last week when U.S. planes took off from the deck of the aircraft carrier 'Constellation' to practice a bombing strike against Iran. The raid has been postponed, but diplomats regard the incident as one of the most graphic manifestations of the existing dangerous situation." According to the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, the United States has eight ships in the Gulf in a state of heightened combat readiness. [paragraph continues]

And another combat formation headed by the "Constellation" is nearby in the Arabian Sea. "President Reagan has stated," the article points out, "that the battleship 'Missouri' could join the formation, thereby creating one of the most powerful U.S. Navy groupings since World War II."

"This could all end in a new Vietnam for America," warns a Near East specialist cited by NEWSDAY.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON U.S. GULF ESCORT PLAN

PM161027 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jul 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On Dangerous Path"]

[Text] Washington, 15 Jul -- A White House spokesman has stated that U.S. Navy operations in the Persian Gulf to escort Kuwaiti tankers transferred to the U.S. flag may begin as early as next week.

A more specific date for starting to escort Kuwaiti ships was announced after a meeting on Capitol Hill with high-ranking representatives of the administration, including Defense Secretary C. Weinberger and Secretary of State G. Shultz, by Congressional leaders, who said that the operations will begin 22 July.

The United States has been using preparation for these operations to expand its military presence in the Persian Gulf region. Two aircraft carrier groupings have been brought in here, which has helped to step up tension in this already explosive part of the world. The aggressiveness of Washington's intentions is borne out by an interview which Defense Secretary C. Weinberger gave to the Knight-Ridder Newspapers syndicate. He threatened that the United States will strike against Iran's territory if it discovers "hostile intentions" on that country's part.

The administration's policy in the Persian Gulf is generating concern in the U.S. Congress. R. Byrd, leader of the Senate Democratic majority, has called this policy "a dangerous step on the path toward a conflict with Iran." Even R. Dole, the leader of the Republicans in the Senate, has admitted that he is anxious about the White House course.

But the administration does not want to heed the legislators' opinion.

FALIN DESCRIBES SOVIET MIDEAST POSITION

TA081800 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1605 GMT 8 Jul 87

[Excerpts] Our correspondent Yisra'el Segal, who joined the entourage of the FRG president on his visit to Moscow, reports that the Soviet Union favors a political agreement about the peace process in the Middle East, an agreement that would grant equal security to all the countries of the region, including Israel:

[Begin Segal recording] This announcement was made by Valentin Falin, director of the NOVOSTI press agency and one of the figures closest to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Falin was asked by an Israeli journalist about Moscow's policy regarding the peace process.

He said there are new and old components in this policy. The Soviet Union supports a political agreement, he said. I reiterate and emphasize it: A long-time political agreement on all the problems of the region which would be compatible with the legitimate needs of all the relevant parties.

Falin did not mention the PLO as a partner in the peace process, but on the other hand he specifically mentioned the State of Israel in the context of its security needs. [passage omitted]

We believe that a political agreement can and must grant equal rights, equal security, and an equal future to all the countries and nations of the region, including the State of Israel, Falin said.

Falin pointed out that the Soviet Union is convinced that a political settlement in the Middle East is feasible, albeit not easy. He emphasized that the Soviet Union is determined that such an agreement should be attained only with the approval of all the relevant parties; indeed, not an imposed solution but one based on agreement. Falin said that such an agreement would be attained only if all the parties proceed with honesty and perseverance. One side should not try to attain advantages and privileges at the expense of the other side, certainly not at the expense of the countries and nations whose homeland is located in the region.

To sum up: Thought must definitely be given to the Soviet announcement, which was specifically made to be broadcast in Israel. [end recording]

On Relations With Israel

TA101142 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 Jul 87 pp A1, 7

["Exclusive" report from the Soviet Union by Daniyel Dagan]

[Excerpt] Moscow -- We will establish diplomatic relations with Israel in the appropriate context of promoting the peace process in the Middle East and when it is absolutely clear that the purpose is to reach a solution rather than deepen the differences -- Valentin Falin, an adviser to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, stated in an exclusive interview with HA'ARETZ.

Falin, the director of the NOVOSTI news agency who is considered one of the figures closest to Gorbachev, replied to the HA'ARETZ correspondent's question in his office on Sovovskiy [name as published] Boulevard in Moscow.

[Dagan] What is the next stage in promoting Soviet-Israeli relations?

[Falin] The promotion of relations cannot be regarded as an isolated issue. Our problems must be solved as part of the process of settling the Israeli-Arab conflict. We are in no way hostile to Israel, we have never been hostile to Israel.

[Dagan] Does Moscow consider the convening of an international conference a condition for establishing diplomatic relations?

[Falin] That is not the right question; the question is: What is the purpose of an international conference? The purpose must be to strive for a solution to the conflict rather than a means to drive a wedge between various elements within the Arab world.

[Dagan] Does Moscow want to take part in an international conference?

[Falin] Yes, certainly. We want to see a conference in which all the parties to the conflict take part and in which everybody has equal rights.

[Dagan] Should the PLO also take part in such a conference?

[Falin] In our opinion, the PLO is one of the parties. A way must be found to include it too.

[Dagan] And if a conference is held, will Moscow establish relations with Israel?

[Falin] The establishment of relations can be discussed in this framework. If Israel really wants peace and proves that it is striving for it, we will assess the situation and make a decision. In such a case I see no obstacle to establishing relations.

[Dagan] Are reports that Minister 'Ezer Weizman has been invited to Moscow true?

[Falin] That is not entirely correct.

[Dagan] What does that mean? Are you denying it or confirming it?

[Falin] I have no additional information. I cannot confirm such an invitation.

[Dagan] The number of Jews granted exit visas has slightly increased. Can we expect an additional increase in that number?

[Falin] Please, do not turn Jewish emigration into a political problem. That is the only way to best solve this problem. It is true that the number of Jews leaving has slightly increased. This is part of a trend compatible with our goals. We do not want people to stay here against their will, and we allow them to leave within the framework of Soviet laws -- not as a result of outside pressure, but within Soviet laws.

[Dagan] Do old-time refuseniks also have a chance? I will only mention the names of two: Yosef Begun and Ida Nudel.

[Falin] One of the two persons you mentioned committed serious crimes. I cannot say anything further. I do not want to talk about isolated cases. [passage omitted]

MALI PARTY DELEGATION SPENDS 2 WEEKS IN USSR

PM081811 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Exchange Of Experience"]

[Text] A Mali People's Democratic Union [UDPM] delegation, headed by M. Kamara [name as published], member of the UDPM National Council, has left Moscow for home having been in our country in line with the program for party links between the CPSU and the UDPM. Over a period of 2 weeks the comrades from Mali familiarized themselves with the CPSU's ideological and mass political work. The delegation was received at the Propaganda Department and International Department of the CPSU Central Committee and visited the Azerbaijan SSR and Volgograd.

The delegation members showed great interest in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June plenum which determined the basic guidelines for the radical restructuring of economic management. They noted the significance of CPSU experience for the UDPM's activity.

YAZKULIYEV DELEGATION RETURNS FROM RWANDA

PM071821 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] The USSR delegation headed by B. Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, returned to Moscow from Rwanda 5 July. It had been taking part in the festivities to mark the 25th anniversary of Rwanda's independence.

The delegation was met at the airport by R.-B.I. Songayla, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, other officials, and L. Kanyarubira, Rwanda ambassador to the USSR.

KAMENTSEV RECEIVES ANGOLAN ENERGY MINISTER

PM151517 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 13 July V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Pedro Van-Dunem, member of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola-Party of Labor (MPLA-PT) Political Bureau, Angolan minister of state for production and economic coordination, minister of energy, and minister of petroleum, who is in the USSR.

A. Henriques da Silva, Angolan minister of planning, took part in the conversation.

SOVIET WARSHIPS TO VISIT POLAND 18-23 JULY

LD151518 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Jul 87

[Text] According to an agreement, a detachment of Soviet warships consisting of the missile cruiser "Groznyy" and the large antisubmarine ship "Slavnyy," under the flag of Admiral Ivanov, commander of the twice-Red Banner winning Baltic Fleet, will pay an official friendly visit to the Polish port of Gdynia in the period 18-23 July.

GDR'S HONECKER TO VISIT FRG CAPITAL 7-8 SEPTEMBER

LD151906 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 15 Jul 87

[Text] Berlin 15/7/TASS -- The GDR news agency ADN reports:

The general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, will pay an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl [word indistinct].

Honecker will visit the FRG capital, Bonn, on September 7-8 and then travel on to the states of North Rhine-Westphalia, Saarland, Rhine-Palatinate and Bavaria.

SHEVARDNADZE RECEIVES HUNGARIAN ENVOY 14 JULY

LD142003 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 14 July, Comrade Shevardnadze received Sandor Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. Issues of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation and international matters of mutual interest were discussed. The conversation took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

IZVESTIYA REPORTS RYZHKOV AUSTRIA VISIT RESPONSE

PM151027 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent N. Novikov: "High Degree of Trust"]

[Text] Vienna -- The successfully completed official visit to Austria by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, remains the main political theme in the Austrian mass media.

The newspapers, radio, and television are publishing various items on the Soviet-Austrian documents which have been signed. These are new steps on the path of the very favorable development of good relations between the Soviet Union and Austria and the further consolidation of our cooperation which rests on the firm basis of growing mutual trust, respect, and mutual advantage.

In a talk with Soviet journalists Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky expressed great satisfaction at the visit by the head of the Soviet Government. He stressed the constructive nature of the discussion of all questions touched on during the talks. The federal chancellor said that this was helped by the new approach toward the solution of the most important problems of bilateral relations on the Soviet and Austrian side. Touching on the situation in the Austrian economy, he noted the difficulties which, as the federal chancellor put it, must be resolved using the new thinking as a guideline. The restructuring which is being undertaken so extensively in the Soviet Union, F. Vranitzky said, is also very useful to the Austrians.

N.I. Ryzhkov's meeting with representatives of Austria's trade and industry and financial circles in Linz generated a big response. He answered numerous questions. It was noted at the meeting that the Soviet and Austrian sides deemed it desirable to put into operation more vigorously progressive forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Austria such as production and scientific and technical sharing, specialization, and the exchange of licenses. There was an examination of opportunities for creating joint enterprises, that new avenue in the development of bilateral economic ties. Both sides displayed interest in the speediest completion of talks on this question.

The Austrian public supports the desire of the participants in the talks to intensify exchanges in the sphere of science, culture, education, and information in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

Leading press organs stress the important fact that the participants in the Soviet-Austrian talks expressed themselves in favor of an approach to the solution of international problems based on the renunciation of the use and threat of military force. They unanimously noted that in the nuclear and space age it is essential to halt the arms race on earth and prevent it in space. The sides' statement of their countries' readiness to continue to do everything to promote the development of the all-European process as a factor in the consolidation of security, stability, and cooperation in Europe met with the Austrian public's recognition.

...On the last day of his stay in Austria the head of the Soviet Government had a walk through the streets of Vienna. Here, as in Linz and Salzburg, he was given a cordial, well-intentioned welcome by the Austrians. His talks with ordinary people were warm and friendly. As N.I. Ryzhkov said at a press conference the same day, this cannot be faked. That is what the friendly relations between Austria and the Soviet Union are like. The Soviet-Austrian talks also took place in a friendly atmosphere.

CHIRAC REPEATS REAGAN'S BERLIN WALL 'WAIL'

LD031548 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 3 Jul 87

[Text] Moscow July 3 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac paid a visit to West Berlin within the framework of celebrations of the city's 750th anniversary.

As reported by Western news agencies, when speaking at a reception held in his honour by the West Berlin Senat the prime minister fiercely attacked the foreign and home policy of the Soviet Union and the GDR and called for the liquidation of the protective structures on the German Democratic Republic's state border.

As one reads the French premier's remarks one cannot help noticing that only recently the very same western news agencies were spreading throughout the world something of the same sort, something very, very similar. And then one realises that Mr. Chirac's statements are almost word-for-word repetitions of the recent "wail at the Berlin Wall" staged there by the President of the United States. It was the President, as he was exercising in anti-socialist inventions in West Berlin, who publicly called for wrecking the state border protecting the GDR's sovereignty.

When commenting on the statements made by Ronald Reagan - and ADN agency wrote that he spoke as a herald of the policy of strength and of discrediting socialist countries in the spirit of the Cold War - the democratic press in many countries well-foundedly noted that his statements ignore the generally known fact that it was the policy of the United States and its allies, directed at using West Berlin as a "frontline city" and undermining the GDR, that had necessitated in its time the putting up of border structures in Berlin. It was noted that the "crocodile tears" shed by the American President near the Brandenburg Gates pursued only one aim - to disrupt the relative calm around West Berlin and encourage the revanchist circles in the FRG which are pressing for a recarving of European borders.

It would seem that everything is clear. At least it seemed so. But it appears that the dubious political "laurels" of the American President have robbed the French premier of tranquility. So during his visit to West Berlin he found nothing better to do than to repeat the provocative by their essence postulates used in his speech by the occupant of the White House. An urge to emulate that could be put to better use.

SUB INCURSIONS INTO SWEDISH WATERS DENIED

PM150817 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jul 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent N. Bukolov "Rejoinder" written specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Who Needs This?"]

[Text] When warships rush about in the Swedish skerries in search of foreign submarines, and the powerful explosions of depth charges make waves, rocking the stunned fish, one can sympathize with Swedish fishermen and environmental conservation organs. And as for the fact that no sumbarines have been found, surely the point is that there simply aren't any in local waters?

When local politicians venture to put forward provocative fabrications in the press to the effect that the Soviet Union is allegedly sending submarines to "prepare for an occupation of Sweden," then I feel like expressing my sympathy for Swedish readers. Attempts are being made to fool them, foist nonsensical ideas on them, and sow distrust with regard to their neighboring country. This is precisely what Ulle Westberg, member of the board of the bourgeois People's Party, did in the pages of SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

The submarines, he maintains, quite without any foundation, are Soviet. The author paints a terrifying picture of how the Soviet Union wants to prepare an invasion of Sweden and create on its territory a kind of corridor as an outlet to the Norwegian coast of the North Atlantic. The truly absurd blasphemous statement that the Soviet Union has now "elaborated more detailed and specific preparations for an invasion of Sweden than even the German General Staff in 1940" crowns these fabrications.

Such libels will hardly help to strengthen Swedish security. And, of course, they cannot promote the development of normal relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union, which has repeatedly stated that it is trying to build them in the spirit of mutual respect, good-neighborliness, and cooperation, respecting territorial integrity and Swedish sovereignty.

It is perplexing that a leading Swedish newspaper, which furthermore lays claim to respectability and objectivity, has allowed its pages to be used for such anti-Soviet attacks.

DPA REPORTS ON ETHNIC GERMANS IN USSR

LD101228 Hamburg DPA in Geman 1010 GMT 10 Jul 87

[Text] Novosibirsk (DPA) -- Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker once again spoke of the fate and the wishes of ethnic German Soviet citizens during his visit to Novosibirsk on Friday. At a banquet given by the area Soviet of Novosibirsk for the Federal president, he said that Germans are among the 50 nationalities living in Siberia. Some of them have "the understandable wish" to be united with their family members in Germany. Others only want to visit their relatives.

"All of us can only gain if there is magnanimity in the granting of emigration requests and wishes to visit. The Germans in the Soviet Union, due to being rooted in two cultures, can be a firm bridge of understanding and cooperation between our peoples," Weizsaecker emphasized.

The Federal president paid tribute to the Soviet constitution which guarantees the Germans and other nationalities in the USSR the preservation of their cultural and linguistic identity. He would be pleased "if this can noticeably become a reality." Weizsaecker expressed his conviction that the reform policy which has been embarked upon can create favorable conditions for broad cooperation between the USSR and the FRG.

IZVESTIYA PONDERS BLAST AT U.S. BASE IN FRG

PM151547 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Ye. Grishin report: "FRG: What the Explosion Conceals"]

[Text] Bonn -- The powerful explosion which shook the U.S. test range near Hohenfels in Bavaria on Sunday 28 June continues to attract the attention of the press and public in the FRG.

As has already been reported, 3 servicemen died in the accident and 13 were seriously injured (see IZVESTIYA No. 181). The U.S. command, in an attempt to hush up the incident, issued a "reassuring" statement claiming that the accident occurred "during a normal training exercise using dynamite." The facts which have emerged in the West German press, however, tell a different story.

The Cologne newspaper EXPRESS claims that the accident occurred during "secret tests of a new liquid explosive." This fact has been confirmed by a high-ranking U.S. Army officer stationed on FRG territory. In conversation with an EXPRESS correspondent he said: "This new explosive device surpasses everything which has existed until now."

The FRG mass media drew attention to other suspicious features connected with the accident at the range. The explosion was of such force, the DPA news agency reports, that the platoon of U.S. soldiers was thrown in all directions. Those killed or injured received very serious injuries and burns. Inhabitants of Hohenfels have described how the shock wave seemed to shake houses in the town.

The injured soldiers and the medical personnel who treated them in hospitals were strictly forbidden to pass on any information about the disaster. A 12-man commission of experts was urgently flown out from the United States to investigate the circumstances of the incident. The U.S. command has still not reported on the causes of the explosion even to the FRG Defense Ministry. A Bonn military department spokesman could say nothing when asked to comment on the test range incident during the weekly press conference at the federal government's press and information department.

All these factors indicate that the transatlantic soldiers clearly have something to hide. But what about official Bonn? It is maintaining silence. Indeed, what can one say if the Pentagon's impudent actions are at complete variance with the Washington administration's assurances that U.S. military servicemen "respect the sovereignty" of the FRG and do not make a move on West German soil without coordinating it first with the local authorities.

GORBACHEV MEETS WITH AUTHOR GARCIA MARQUEZ

PM161043 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 87 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report; under the headline "Friendly Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and Gabriel Garcia Marquez"]

[Text] On 15 July, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the outstanding Latin American writer, who is in the Soviet Union. A lively and engrossing conversation took place on the subject of restructuring in the Soviet Union, its international significance, the role of cultural workers, and the importance of values embraced by the whole of mankind in the modern world.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev warmly greeted Garcia Marquez and said that people were always glad to see him in the Soviet Union, since they were very familiar with his artistic works and progressive social activities.

You have come to see us at an interesting time, a time of rapid change and renewal of the whole system of socialist relations, beginning with the economic sphere and ending with the spiritual sphere. Intense work is going on everywhere. But that is to the liking of our people. There is scope for making an effort and for displaying initiative and creativity. All this we -- and not just we alone but many people throughout the world -- depict through the words "restructuring" and "openness."

Perestroika and glasnost, said Garcia Marquez, are the most well-known words in the world now. They are very successful words. They cannot be translated into Spanish, French, or English. Glasnost and perestroika are pronounced in Russian throughout the world.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: The broader meaning of the word restructuring is that it reflects not only the problems that have come to a head in our country. One could say that the whole world is in need of restructuring, that is, of qualitative change and progressive development. People need to know where they are, understand the problems that concern everyone, and realize how they are to live in the future. Scientists seem to have no information showing that somewhere there is another, equally rational, civilization as ours here on earth. Can it be that we will not have sufficient wisdom to find mutual understanding and avoid blowing up the world because we are different?

Garcia Marquez: If restructuring and what you are doing are carried through to the end, it would be the most important event in modern history. I have many friends in Latin America who warmly perceive what you are doing. There are also people who doubt the success of restructuring. You probably have difficulties in following the varied reaction in the world to the processes that are taking place in your country.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: We are, naturally, following world reaction. We are aware of the response to what we are doing and what we are offering our people. We seek to raise our society to a higher level and to give it a new quality on the basis of the values of socialism, the values of all mankind. The road to that lies through the development of democracy and the broad inclusion of man and of the working people in the life of society and in the processes that are taking place. That is one aspect of the matter.

Another aspect is that our foreign policy is an extension of our domestic policy. In foreign policy we strive to be guided by new approaches and to make an active link with the processes taking place in our country. This means that here, too, we make the interests of the individual and humanitarian values a priority, and, of course, we are not indifferent to how the world perceives what we are doing.

We want to tell the world honestly about our plans and our goals, and we are not guided by any vainglorious ambitions; we do not do this in order to please someone or to make a favorable impression. We can see that our society has become ripe for change, and if it were not we, the present leadership, that did this, then it would be done by others. Restructuring is a difficult and complicated, but objectively essential, socially dictated process.

We are transforming new approaches in internal affairs into foreign policy initiatives. These are not slogans, but realistic, practical proposals. In 2 years we have made many such proposals and submitted them to judgment by the international community. We make no claim to absolute truth and heed the view of others -- that is what we call the new way of thinking. We need to learn to listen to each other and to learn from each other, to take into account the interests of each state, and to respect the interests of each people. Let everyone demonstrate his own preferences among the diversity of the modern world, but do so peacefully, in cooperation with each other.

In this respect, we do not conceal our conviction that it is precisely socialism that opens up immense possibilities and prospects for mankind. We are for socialism, but we do not foist our convictiions upon anyone -- let each choose, and history will put everything in its place. We do not improvise, of course, although creative imagination is now very essential to us. We do things on the basis of scientific analysis, a tried and tested domestic and foreign policy concept. We are convinced that mankind has reached a stage where everything depends upon each other -- one country cannot be alienated from another, one people from another, and, moreover, they cannot be against each other.

In our communist lexicon this is called internationalism. But this coincides with the affirmation of values common to all mankind. This contrasts with capitalism, which resorts to plundering the peoples, refuses to respect their choice of path, and looks on entire continents as on their fiefdom. To imperialism restructuring of international relations is like a bone in the throat. But restructuring is indispensable to a world that is saturated with nuclear weapons; a world with serious economic and ecological problems, where there is poverty, backwardness, and disease; a world in which a gigantic news industry has been set up. You know what influence this news industry is bringing to bear on the minds of people.

We believe that it is necessary to learn to combine national interests with tasks common to all mankind. Our policies are not a ploy. Our conscience is clean. Our philosophy of international relations is not contrary to common sense -- it is based on a profound scientific analysis of processes and on strictly taking account of the interests of the working people. We are proposing it to the entire world. I will stress once more: We are proposing this philosophy but under no circumstances are we foisting it on anyone. We see that our policies arouse not simply curiosity but profound interest. The world is tired of tension. Everyone is striving for something better.

But there are, of course, those who do not find the prospects being proposed by us to their liking. Our philosophical vision of the world they declare to be utopian. They are attempting to discredit our policies and the present leadership. All of this is known to us. Nevertheless, the world is changing. The craving for mutual understanding, for mutual links, is growing. This inspires us.

Garcia Marquez: I cordially thank you for what you have told me. You can't imagine how this stirs me. What you have said coincides with what I myself think, what I have heard from my friends in Latin America. This confirms everything I think about the processes in your country and about your policies.

It is very important to me that everything you say and do is sincere and, inasmuch as your adversaries see this sincerity, it provokes fear in them and their actions can be even more dangerous in the future.

I so wanted to come to the USSR this time. I first came to your country when I came to a youth festival in 1957. At that time I also experienced alongside my Soviet friends the changes that took place. People were celebrating the start of changes. They thought that they would take place and would take place quickly. Now, 30 years later, I can see a great difference in people's attitude to the changes. They are also receiving them warmly but this is not simply a celebration but intensive intellectual work, involving deep and not simple thought. There is none of the blind optimism that existed in 1957. Now I observe confidence and most intensive optimism. People understand that they must act and contribute to restructuring. But there are also fears: What if it does not succeed? All of this is sincere. No one doubts the sincerity of the policy of restructuring. There is no doubt that this is a serious business especially among the creative intelligentsia, among writers where I have many friends. Everyone wishes that there not be a single step backward.

These are good words, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said.

Garcia Marquez: You can be certain that the intelligentsia of Latin American is on your side. What is happening in the USSR and your restructuring is being received with vast interest there. I am a writer. I express the thoughts that fill me. I would like to say that I feel love and deep respect for Soviet people.

M.S. Gorbachev: Thank You. We appreciate the fact that you are an ardent supporter of restructuring and our friend.

Garcia Marquez: Today's meeting is the most important event for me in recent years. I am glad it has taken place.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: You have vast prestige in our country. Your works are published in larger editions in the USSR, perhaps, than in other countries. You have very many readers here.

Garcia Marquez: Yes, I know that my books are published mostly in Spanish and secondly in Russian.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: A few years ago I had a meeting with the leaders of our mass information media and our creative unions. It was an interesting meeting. Speaking at it, I said that we are giving vast importance to openness and to developing democracy. This gives the Soviet people the opportunity to fully reveal themselves. People have begun to speak. They have things to say to each other and things to express to the government.

How much we have lost as a result of the fact that at a certain stage the process of the development of democracy slowed down -- although, of course, in that sphere, too, we have attained a high level. We are the most educated people, we love our homeland. That is why it is very important to involve the people in the processes of restructuring and to develop democracy in scope and depth. [paragraph continues]

This will save us from many mistakes and will be a guarantee that restructuring will acquire real force and become increasingly irreversible. With minor exceptions, people are taking a very responsible attitude to what is going on, and this gives us strength. The most difficult thing is restructuring in the ideological and spiritual sphere. The way things go in the sphere of democracy and the spiritual sphere will be the way restructuring will go. We realize that well, and that is the difference between now and what happened after the 20th party congress. Without developing of the processes in the spiritual sphere and in the sphere of democracy, without the affirmation of socialist and general human values, restructuring won't work.

At the meeting with journalists, I said: What we are doing is right and necessary. It may be that in some things we are getting it wrong. But truth has to be sought together. One must not forget that the party and the creative intelligentsia serve the interests of the people. Such a way of putting it should not perplex genuine artists. A great artist is one who is not indifferent to the fate of the people, to the people's pain. When I read your "Hundred Years of Solitude" and other works, I sensed that they were free of formulas, that they were imbued with a love of people, and of mankind.

I think we should value every day lived since the October Revolution; the most difficult days were not lived in vain. All that is our history. How can one permit disrespect to the generations that created the foundations of socialism and who gave us the possibility of making headway today. There were of course mistakes, too, and even tragedies. But if you look at what we achieved through the efforts of the party and people, the results are colossal. Without historical roots, there is no people. A tree without roots withers and dies.

Garcia Marquez: Nostalgia is a dangerous trap, but it is only then that you realize that the main thing is not to live without purpose but to make life better for people. Everything you say moves me profoundly and makes me think about the destiny of my country and Latin America. There is enormous interest there in your policies. People hope that you will visit Latin America.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: I have very great interest in that continent and its destiny. It is a continent of enormous potential and traditions. Despite all the difficulties, the peoples of the continent are strongly drawn to a better future. But the barriers there are big ones and you know what they are. The path to freedom is a difficult path. But I still feel sure that the movement of Latin America along the path of progress will gather in strength. I hope to get to know Latin America better.

Garcia Marquez: A visit by you to Latin America is very important for all the progressive forces on the continent. I am grateful to you for the conversation. As I depart from Moscow, I am more hopeful than when I was getting ready to come here.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: I am very glad to have met you. In the present circumstances when the world is, as it were, at a historical crossroads, the word of authoritative figures in world culture is of great significance. It is stronger than a weapon, it helps in understanding where the world is going, how it should be built, how to preserve civilization and life on earth. People harken to your word, they take notice of what you write. I wish you every success. I hope to meet you again.

TASS OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED BY MEXICO'S EL DIA

PA051153 Mexico City EL DIA in Spanish 21 Jun 87 p 3

[Interview with Gennadiy Shishkin, first deputy director general of TASS, by Jose Garcia Segura -- place, date not given]

[Text] Gennadiy Shishkin, first deputy director general of TASS, the official Soviet news agency, has stated that the people's situation should not be distorted. He also said that the press should not promote campaigns of hostility or repudiation among the peoples.

Shishkin, who is also a journalist with more than 30 years of service, arrived in Mexico yesterday to participate in the Second International Communications Forum organized by EL DIA, which is to start on Wednesday. Twenty-five media communications experts will participate in this forum. Shishkin will participate in the "Politics and Media Communications" roundtable.

He said that there are more than enough examples of unfriendly propaganda carried out by the media and ruling circles of Washington and other Western countries against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Whether one likes it or not, this poisons the people's minds so that they gradually begin to view the Soviets as a symbol and personification of evil.

[Garcia Segura] What are the socialist bloc countries doing to expand information services and counter the distortion and manipulation carried out by international Western agencies and also as part of a new international information order? [as published]

[Shishkin] The Soviet press pays more attention to life's problems, and the situation in developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. We expect our correspondents to send truthful, honest, and real information about how they live, struggle, work, and how these people and these countries develop.

[Garcia Segura] What should be the role of the media in the world?

[Shishkin] It is extremely important. The world is experiencing difficult situations. It is only fair for man to ask himself this question: What will ever become of mankind? Will everybody be able and have the strength to live under cooperation and friendship or will it be better to choose the terrible path of conflicts and confrontations?

The most effective, powerful, and capable way to contribute to world peace and coexistence is through the media.

[Garcia Segura] How does the media influence leaders' behavior?

[Shishkin] It is essential. It can create a climate of friendship or hostility. The media must not "nurture" or promote campaigns of hostility.

[Garcia Segura] The Soviet press does not present the United States or any other Western country as a "symbol of evil?

[Shishkin] No. My colleagues and I never present the U.S. people as "forces of evil." However, as far as the behavior of the U.S. Government is concerned, well, that is something else.

[Garcia Segura] Is it good for the state to censor the media?

[Shishkin] There is no censorship in the USSR in the strictest sense of the word. We have state control regarding state military and political secrets. In other words, anything that is heritage [patrimonio] or part of a military or state secret is not published. Any criticism by the press is not censored.

[Garcia Segura] In other words, there is freedom?

[Shishkin] Without a doubt.

[Garcia Segura] A campaign for moral renewal in the people's behavior is under way in Mexico, is this also applied in the Soviet Union?

[Shishkin] The USSR is experiencing a second revolution. Seventy years after the Great October Revolution, Mikhail Gorbachev is carrying out a reorganization at all levels of our society. It is a struggle to overcome negative phenomena that accrued in past decades in the society, the party, and the state.

The struggle against corruption by Miguel de la Madrid in Mexico is comparable to that carried out by the Soviet state. The reorganization and the renewal are possible in a regime with ample freedom of the press to guarantree that any citizen can report problems that are negative for society.

In conclusion, Shishkin praised the work done by EL DIA and its initiative in carrying out the forum that will analyze the problems of the world's media.

PRAVDA REPORTS DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE FOR BRAZIL

PM151241 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Take Part in Conference's Work"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation comprising G.P. Bogomyakov (the leader), member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSU Tyumen Obkom, and A.O. Kuprikov, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee International Section, departed 12 July from Moscow for Brazil to take part in the work of the Eighth Brazilian Communist Party Conference.

PRAVDA REPORT ON GORBACHEV-MEDIA OFFICIALS MEETING

PM151235 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 87 Second Edition pp 1-3

[Unattributed report: "Strengthening the Restructuring With Practical Actions"]

[Text] A meeting has been held in the CPSU Central Committee with leaders of the mass media and the creative unions, during which participants exchanged views on matters of further enhancing the role of the press, television, and radio broadcasting in the process of restructuring and in carrying out the tasks mapped out by the June 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said:

We meet again. In my view, this is not a bad tradition. We highly value the contribution by our mass media to the restructuring. I include here our journals too, including the literary journals: After all, journalistic sections occupy a large place in them.

I would even say that the party would, perhaps, have been unable to attain the present level of discussion on the entire range of the problems of restructuring -- and this range is very extensive, not unequivocal and contradictory -- if the mass media had not involved themselves actively and for real in this process immediately following the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

This is the first thing. The second thing is that life is beginning to change. Maybe not so quickly and fully as we would have wanted it to. Various viewpoints exist here: Some believe that the processes of restructuring are proceeding slowly, others say that we are in a hurry. I think that what we are doing -- setting in motion in our society -- requires a great deal of responsibility and equilibrium and it is by this that we should determine our pace. We have an enormous country, an enormous number of people who gave so much to consolidate and multiply the gains of the October Revolution, to make our motherland a mightly socialist power. That is why all our steps require a great deal of responsibility, both toward the people and toward all of mankind, taking into account the role that our country and our state plays in the modern world.

Changes are taking place and we can see them. There was a particular situation before the January plenum, and after it events went in a completely different direction. Preparing to hold the June plenum of the Central Committee, we could see that by placing on the agenda the question of a radical restructuring of management of the economy, we could not avoid talking about the progress of restructuring as a whole. That is quite understandable. Despite the significance of the economy as the bedrock, the processes of restructuring in the economy nevertheless would not work without being implemented in coordination with all the other spheres of life of our society -- and above all those such as the spiritual and political spheres, the democracy sphere, and many others.

After the January plenum of the Central Committee these processes changed their character, and the tempo of debate and its sharpness and the content of the decision being adopted also changed. It should be plainly stated that everything was changed and intensified. That means that at the January plenum we had correctly posed the question, and restructuring began to embrace all spheres of social life, all sections of the people. Through its machinery it began to include millions, and it is when you get into millions that a great responsible policy begins.

This is how we came up with the idea that the report to the June plenum of the Central Committee needed a political section, analyzing the overall progress of restructuring, in which it would be possible to reflect some of what we had covered so far, where we had gotten to. It has become clear to us that we are only at the initial stage of restructuring, nevertheless, it is already a kind of new period in our development. We have reached new frontiers of restructuring; we have a new landmark in our plans for the future.

In view of this and since the movement is accelerating, it is necessary for the party and mass media alike to synchronize their watches all the time. Since the June plenum I think this need has become even greater because it resolved questions of vast importance connected with the restructuring of the system of managing our economy.

I am confident that you are all well acquainted with the plenum materials and that you have your own assessments and your own views. I think that you are in agreement with the main thing -- all that we have been doing following the April Central Committee plenum has been dictated by the very course of our society's development, by the problems that have accumulated and by the urgency of the tasks which it is necessary to carry out.

I speak all the time of society, because the Central Committee and the Politburo determine their policy based on the interests of the development of society, taking into account the tendencies taking place within societal development and depending on the problems society is anxious about and which it is discussing. Naturally, society is not something faceless; it contains concrete forces: the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and within their own groups with distinguishing features of their own, their own interests. Restructuring and its problems are interpreted in different ways in various classes and groups of our society, with life experience and specific living conditions of each group being taken into account.

It is necessary to proceed from the fact that in society there is a mass of unsolved problems. In particular, the situation in the economy is very strained. It is this that we should be orienting ourselves toward, becoming more aware of what has matured within society. We should understand that we have made the right choice. The past 2 years have shown that the people's conviction that restructuring is essential is beginning to gain strength, while as far as many are concerned there is even fear and concern for restructuring, in case it should come to grief.

I wish to emphasize that this was talked about during the Central Committee's June plenum, that restructuring is not a rejection and even if it is a rejection, it is a dialectical one.

In directing our policy toward acceleration and toward restructuring, we are standing not on some slippery hill in a swamp but on firm ground which has been formed by the efforts of many generations of Soviet people as a result of the struggle along our path of the trailblazers. All kinds of things have happened -- vast achievements and at the same time losses as well. It has been necessary to undergo difficult tests. I say this because I see that much has been experienced even among you.

But will not the new stage turn into a rejection of everything that has gone before? But have we not forgotten our history? Can one not observe in the present policy an underestimation of what was done by preceding generations? Comrades, I think that to consider and think in this way would be a mistake. I beg you: Rise above your emotions and your comforts and comfortable stereotypes.

Rise up and think about the people and society; otherwise we will not be strong enough to move forward on the matter we have begun.

I have already said, and I think that this concept unites us all, we have been and still are in the same boat. We have been and we remain on the same side of the barricade. We have been going along and we are continuing along the same road. Therefore, when passions were aroused at the meeting of the Board of the Union of Writers of the RSFSR, I asked that it should be conveyed to the comrades that we would be concerned if, instead of a consolidation of our creative artistic intelligentsia, there was a squabble, so to speak and if its participants tried in conditions of openness [glasnost], publicity [otkrytost], and democratization to gain revenge for every criticism.

This, comrades, is impermissible. This would be playing with the people, with the country, with socialism. We would never go in for that in any event.

The most controversial questions need to be debated while having respect for one another. In even the most extreme point of view there is something valuable, something rational, because a person who defends his point of view honestly displays concern for the common cause. You remember Lenin's idea that you must be able to analyze the position of your opponent, even your class adversary, because no one poses questions so deeply and acutely, no one seeks out the weakness of your position so insistently as your adversary.

But ours is not a class struggle, an antagonistic struggle. It is a search, it is a debate: How can we get on to the broad highway of restructuring, how can we quicken our pace and make it firm, how can we make our movement irreversible? So, I do not see any drama in polemics, in the confrontation of points of view. It is normal.

We are now, as it were, going through the school of democracy afresh. We are learning. Our political culture is still inadequate. Our standard of debate is inadequate; our ability to respect the point of view of even our friend and comrade -- even that is inadequate.

We are an emotional people, but we will doubtless get over it. We will grow up. I have asked for it to be conveyed to the comrades that we very highly value everything that has been done since April 1985 by our creative intelligentsia and we hope that this contribution will grow. So you and I have to continually synchronize our watches. I have no reason to make any great political reproaches. If extremes have made their appearance anywhere -- incidentally, they have and we have seen them -- that happened nevertheless in the framework of the struggle for socialism, to improve it, in the framework of a struggle which was in the interests of the people.

But if they start seeking out and tossing us values and discoveries outside of the limits of the interests of the people and beyond the limits of socialism, then the Central Committee will publicly subject this to criticism, make an appraisal and will, in the framework of democracy and openness [glasnost], also express its position on a question of principle. I think this is correct.

I am being extremely frank [otkrovennyy] with you, and you should be aware of that. I am talking to you about my own profound convictions; I may be in error about some things -- I make no claim to absolute truth. We must seek out the truth together, in unison. We must seek out the truth factor from the conceptual standpoint of methods, from the standpoint of what is, so to speak, our fulcrum. This fulcrum is really to rouse people and to make use of their rich political, cultural, and scientific potential that has accumulated in our society in the years of Soviet power.

Therefore, at the January Central Committee plenum, we proposed an entire constructive program, the main content of which is to develop the process of democratization in order to involve the people's energy and interest in all the processes of our lives. That is the most important thing, the main point of everything that we are doing, comrades. Nor is such a field as the economy an exception here, and here we are taking the approach of actively involving people in the production processes. Socialism is opening up immense possibilities for this and its foundation is not private property but our common property. This premise makes it possible to find the most out of the ordinary means of involving people and to make them, not in word but in deed, the masters of production and the entirety of economic life. How to achieve this in practice was the task facing the June plenum of the Central Committee.

In an article on cooperatives, Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote that for many, many socialists the stumbling block was the degree of combining the private with the public aims, that is, private interest, monitoring and control, monitoring of it by the state, and the degree of its subordination to common interests. In cooperatives he also saw one of the ways of combining socialism with the interests of the individual. We have been guided by these general methodolgical principles, recognizing that things will not work out if public property is not reliably combined with individual interests -- both material and personal interests. Society cannot be made dynamic and viable if you do not take into account interests, if, through feedback, these interests do not have an influence on society's policy.

That is indeed why the question of interests was raised at the Central Committee's June plenum. The inclusion of man's interests in the mechanism of the entire economy will make it possible for him to feel that he is in charge of things and will prompt him to participate actively in all the processes of our society's life. And, as you know, we began with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), with defining the ways in which it will be implemented.

According to the results of the nationwide discussion, we included everything that was possible in the law and made the relevant amendments to it.

True, there were some people who also suggested things that went beyond the bounds of our system, in particular that we should renounce the instrument of the planned economy. We did not accept this nor will we ever accept it, since it is our intention to strengthen socialism and not to replace it with another system. This is perfectly clear. Consequently, much that was suggested and put our way from the other economic system is unacceptable to us.

Moreover, we are confident that socialism, if its fundamental principles are brought into play, has everything at its disposal to genuinely include man's interests and to make use of the advantages of our planned economy. At the present stage, and taking into account the current state of our society, this will provide us with an opportunity to imparting new dynamism to the economy.

In this context everything that contradicts the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) should be reviewed: each provision concerning the work of any economic body, the USSR State Planning Committee, other economic departments of the country, and industrial management bodies. Their functions must from now on be in keeping with this law. It is in this direction that the work is being carried out.

That, as a matter of fact, is the point of the Central Committee June plenum decisions. Their basis is the continuation of the line of the January plenum: to involve the individual in all processes, economic and production, and to make him feel genuinely in charge, combining the interests of the state with the individual himself and of the labor collective.

Life will surely make corrections of its own to this process, introducing amendments. However, we are confident that we are on the right track, since we have already had certain experience to draw from here. Now that a favorable spiritual, ethical, and moral atmosphere exists in society, an atmosphere of openness, processes of democratization are beginning to get underway in the country. We still have to underpin them with an appropriate juridical foundation. In this sphere we still have a great deal of the kind of democracy which has gotten no further than meetings [mitingovoy demokratizm] although the current juridical premises should also be brought into play and much of what already exists should be brought into use.

We are thinking about this and are preparing the appropriate proposals for the 19th all-union party conference.

In having a program of radical reform for running the economy we have, as it were, created an already extensive front for an attack in all directions of the democratization of society, and speeding up and strengthening restructuring.

So you now have a few thoughts about our plans and the significance of the work accomplished by the June plenum of the party Central Committee.

I would say that the chief strategic matters have now been resolved. We have created the preconditions for restructuring to be expanded on a new political, ideological, moral, economic, and legal basis -- although everything still lies ahead, because these are the preconditions and the practical work is at the very beginning.

The question naturally arises: But where are we now? A new situation has taken shape and it also has to be understood. If we agree that we have created the preconditions that have been mentioned, then today maybe the most important moment is coming. Now everything must be put into practice and this means that millions, tens of millions of people will be taking part in an enormous task. This is indeed a real revolution, including a revolution in the minds, the ways of thinking, and approaches to affairs. And, as is known, Lenin warned that one should not joke about revolution; one should not play at revolution. If we have really started a revolution then we have to conduct our affairs properly, with a great feeling of responsibility and understanding of the fact that delaying implementation of matters now already resolved, defined, and drawn up by our restructuring program would be like death.

Therefore, I would say, the stage of constructive work is beginning. Certain comrades are probably already poised to claim that this means no more criticism. I do not think so; this is not true. I am sure that without maintaining the atmosphere of frankness [otkrytost], openness [glasnost], and criticism, without broad responsible discussions permeated with concern for the people's needs and the fate of the state and society, there will be no constructive work, and no constructive stage will follow. Therefore, the main thing for us now is to act and act energetically and purposefully, look for reserves, criticize the blunders and shortcomings, and alongside this to support the new and constructive things and develop energy and intiative and strengthen democracy and openness, that is to say that which is strengthening the atmosphere of restructuring and facilitating a speeding up of our socioeconomic development, and conduct a search for new forms of work that will develop the even broader participation of the people and the millions of working people. In this is the sociopolitical crux of the present stage of restructuring.

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It is important now to perceive and note in time everything new, however small, which advances our cause. At the June plenum of the Central Committee I cited many specific facts to show that the positive process has started, and that we need to perceive well all of these new shoots. Here one should learn from Lenin. You remember the subbotnik in the Moscow switching yard, how Lenin developed the ideas from that fact which still work for us to this say, after so many decades, and will continue to work for us.

At the present stage of constructive work, constructive acts, it is very important to see all the positive things that are going on. At the same time, comparison is especially important.

Here you have two rayons, two enterprises, two oblasts, two republics next to each other, and in them one approach leads to movement, acceleration, real results, and in the other there is sluggishness, inertia of thought, adherence to old ways, backwardness -- all of which fetters collectives and the individual. That is now the main theme for articles in magazines and newspapers, and also for artistic literature.

You will probably agree with me, and I am sure that you have also come to this conclusion, that now we must all be especially industrious, responsible, specific. You have evidently sensed -- you should have sensed, at least -- two basic ideas which we wanted to announce in the report at the June plenum of the Central Committee, apart from what was set out in the development of a program on economic matters. First, the party cannot lag behind the processes that are going on in society. As soon as it lags behind, even in one section or another, distortions begin, excesses appear. Conversely, when the party is up to the mark it uses its potential, its authority, its possibilities to the full, and in that process it occupies vanguard positions and does not operate according to the principle: Do not allow, do not give, forbid, or refuse, revoke, and so one and so forth. Those are not positions. The party must lead forward and it is capable of doing that since it has at its disposal the corresponding potential -- cadre, theoretical, political, and moral potential -- and I want to emphasize the moral potential.

Having shown, in the first section of the report at the June plenum of the Central Committee, the contradictoriness of the present stage of restructuring, and what the tasks in the near and distant future consist of, having proposed the concept of radical reform, the party thereby reaffirmed that it is fulfilling its mission as the guiding force of society. It is the genuine organizer of society and it is its political vanguard. I do not think that now anyone will have the conception, the idea that it is possible to get by without the party. We have 70 years behind us. We can draw unambiguous conclusions on that score, especially now, when great changes are occurring in our vast state, when we are unleashing the processes of democratization, discussion, searching, and at the same time we must secure restructuring as we go and as we move forward.

Without a party which is capable of scientifically thinking through and proposing an appropriate policy and a strategy for solving practical problems, this cannot be done. Without cadres, which it has spent decades training and which it continues to train, this cannot be put into practice. If anyone thinks otherwise he is mistaken to say the least.

A socialist society needs an active and strong party, and the party itself needs to live a full-blooded existence. Only then can it fulfill its organizing and leading role.

At the all-union party conference next year we will discuss many questions in detail, including those which concern the activity of the party itself. This is the first thought.

And the second thought: There is strong concern among the people for restructuring. I have already spoken of how I went to Baykonur, saw our technology there, and met with the people. I was asked after one such meeting: Mikhail Sergeyevich, when will restructuring reach down to us? I answered: Well, ask your leaders. Let them think a bit about this and then they will tell you. You know, the people have some very good qualities: You can never fool them. When you and I tried to paint everything in rosy colors, the people could see it all. They lost interest in the press and public activity and they felt they were just being degraded and insulted when they were being presented with a fake. For they know about real life and how things really are. Lenin said that an illiterate person is outside of politics. But now we have an educated people. The way we behaved in recent years meant keeping them out of politics. This is disrespect to the people. This is a kind of elitism. Now everything must be put in its place through the democratic process. There is one deciding force: the people. They put forward the cadres, and the chiefs [vozhd] and the leaders and the writers. It is from the people that everything comes and it is to the people that everything returns.

So it is these contradictions between the word and the deed that the people have noticed on the basis of their own experience. It means not everything is OK; it means there are obstacles; it means there are some phenomena which seriously worry people. People understand that there are issues in restructuring which need a 5-year plan, or two 5-year plans and for some three 5-year plans even, to solve. These are radical questions of enormous importance which are meant to change the face of the country. But there are also those kinds of questions -- such as, for example, the operation of retail trade, municipal transportation, order on the streets, the services sector.

What is the attitude there toward people? Is there an atmosphere of respect or is boorishness flourishing? How are housing problems being solved? Is anything being improved or added on? How are things being built?

That is the real life in which a person leaving his workplace is immediately absorbed: How to look after the children, how to look after the family, how to solve various problems. At times, after thrashing around trying to deal with all these matters, a person says: The leaders change their speeches but life remains just as it was. That is why the plenum report had a new section on primary, urgent tasks which we must really set about. The press should undertake supervision of these tasks which are needed by the people and it should show various persons' attitude toward them. That means it should show various persons' attitude toward the people. In general, no matter what post a person occupies, if he loses the ability to understand the needs of the people and what bothers them, if he ceases to understand how they live, then he is a man of no substance. He must be replaced. He is not necessary to us. I spoke about that at the Central Committee plenum, too. Such an approach does not at all mean a disrespectful attitude toward cadres, for our cadres, our intelligentsia, are talented people and should be cosseted.

If you try to smooth out society with an iron you will leave behind no talent or conscientious worker. That is not socialism and it is not social justice but excessive levelling and demagogy. However, social demagogues have found their way into some editorial offices of newspapers and magazines. They are being particularly vicious in their attacks on the cadres. But we should understand very well that the cadres corps carries the vast load of restructuring. Of course, here too there are people who turned their rayons of kolkhozes into their own patrimony. Such people must be dragged out into the daylight, as the saying goes. But there must be no disrespectful attitude toward cadres in general.

At the same time, in leading posts there must be no callous insensitive people who do not see the people's needs, feel for them, and take them to their hearts. This was spoken about at the June plenum of the Central Committee and I beg you to recognize this and to act on it. Act in such a way that everyone who shows concern for a person, for people, for the most simple things, in the most remote places and in the center, should be the heroes of our press. Those who remain steadfast in all conditions should be the heroes.

At a recent meeting of the Central Committee Politburo mention was made that in the past 2-3 years we adopted a number of decisions on questions of providing people with garden plots, huts, building materials, repair services, and so on. At the same time we said, regardless of the demand from our building organizations for these materials it is necessary to allocate them to the people and to provide them for the retail trade network. We began to check up on these decisions and we saw that department after department systematically frustrated them. Then we decided that if we again see or meet with facts of these decisions being thwarted, we will remove the guilty from their posts. We shall do that openly before the entire country.

You know that some works, rayons, and kolkhozes have already decided to solve the housing problem not by the year 2000 but in 7-10 years. All the reserves are being brought out and people have got on with it. In Volgograd oblast now the rate of housing construction has increased by 40 percent. All reserves must be brought in; people want to participate with their own means. People have begun a useful thing; let them act.

Or take the food question. In many oblasts this question is being successfully resolved. Republics and oblasts have been given the right, after the fulfillment of supplies to the all-union stocks, to keep everything for themselves to satisfy local needs. And they have gotten on with it and done everything as it should be done. Many of you know this. In Saratov there are 17 types of vegetables on sale all year round. And the situation with other types of foodstuffs is not bad, either. Volgograd has changed in this regard, too, as have Tselinograd, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Omsk, Barnaul, Belgorod, and others. Much work is being carried out there and the results are evident. I can name many such oblasts and towns. It is pleasing that similar processes have begun in Tula and Kaluga. That means that these questions can be resolved well in the most difficult regions of the country.

This also applies to the non-Chernozem zone, over which our heart bleeds. All in all, the non-Chernozem zone must be improved, houses and roads must be built there, and this area must be well-equipped in all respects. People go to this area to live with great aspirations. We will consistently implement all that has been mapped out for the development of the non-Chernozem zone.

In the most difficult regions, everything will go well if we give our people the opportunity to demonstrate both their intellects and their talents.

As you understand, comrades, I am dwelling in particular upon these paramount tasks because our restructuring will be defeated if people do not feel that the changes are taking place precisely to resolve these paramount, urgent matters. I wanted to draw your attention to these two issues -- the party and our paramount tasks -- so that you might see the priorities and the consistency of our work on restructuring more clearly here.

There is another important matter: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Media treatment of this major event in our lives must be improved. We are the children of October, and our society today is the result of the 70 years of development since October. It is our common property, a turning point in the history of mankind, the road to a new world. How many changes there have been since our revolution, not only in our country, but worldwide! What processes it opened up. One must take a broad look at all of this and not yield to some kind of one-sided view or attitude. We cannot formulate our attitude toward everything since October on such an outlook. In that way, comrades, you can get lost altogether. I think that we never will be able to forgive or justify what happened in 1937-38, and never should. Never! Those who were in power at that time are responsible for that, and comrades, that does not detract from all we have today, what the party and people did in coming through those trials [ispytaniye]. There were great and serious losses. We know what came of 1937 and 1938, and how this hit the party cadres, the intelligentsia, and the military cadres. Yet we are bound to see what enormous strength is to be found in socialism and in our system, which withstood that, entered the fight against nazism, and was victorious. That is why we must speak of our 70th anniversary with pride in our great people, their history, and their feat.

We speak the truth and only the truth. We take pride in each day we live through, and each day is precious to us, even when it has been most difficult because it has been our school of history, our history lessons. We have all lived through it together.

You and I have lived through all that, and therefore we cannot allow a disrespectful attitude toward our people, to the generations which have been through all that and who brought the country to its present day.

So let us speak out loud about October, about socialism, about who we are, where we have come from, and what we have as a result of the revolution and the development of socialism.

We have indeed already started talking about it, without sensation, seriously, responsibly, because one cannot speak of such things in mockery or in malice, for it is the people's destiny.

That is also how we should speak of our times, about restructuring. Here, obviously, the form and presentation of material should be given more variety. It is fine when an author states his position, but with what interest I read, comrades, publications of conversations! These are conversations with working people, secretaries of raykoms, with chairman of kolkhozes, with scientists, with cultural figures. Vital thought pulses in them! And the publication of readers' letters -- what letters! They really touch the soul!

And another thing. I have already told you that it is undemocratic when all the columns of newspapers and all the pages of magazines are usurped by Moscow authors. Magazines and newspapers belong to the Union, and sometimes when you read some paper or other you ask: Where is the country? Where is local opinion?

In general, comrades, I invite you to reflect on how best we can tell of our great revolution, remember the people, heroes of the revolution, the workers, the professional revolutionaries, and the poets and those who were forgotten — remember them, too. All this you and I must do responsibly and deeply, in a spirit of democracy and openness.

Openness and democracy, as we have repeatedly said, are, I think, our common point of view. This is not permissiveness; openness is called on to strengthen socialism, the spirit of our people; to strengthen morals, the ethical atmosphere in society. Openness is also criticism of shortcomings, but it is not undermining socialism, undermining our socialist values.

We have something to affirm and defend. They are the historic gains of our society as the most socially protected society. This can be doubted only by those to whom our socialist democracy and our demands for responsibility are just an obstacle to the satisfaction of their personal pride, remote from the interests of the people. But we have fought against this and will continue to do so.

We have no need to dress up our policy, our values. We are open for all. But democracy assumes also the struggle for their affirmation.

I would sum up in this way. The processes of restructuring are expanding in breadth and depth. A difficult transitional period has begun, and competency and responsibility are now particularly necessary. It is necessary to act in such a way as to strengthen people's spirit. It is necessary to experience it all, master it, and be reconstructed. Then we will get the results that society needs. Therefore you must attract more competent people to your work. Much is said in the mass media about the economy, but unfortunately often in a feeble, superficial way, sometimes even stridently and absolutely without any relevant knowledge.

As we get deeper into restructuring, the demands made on you will be stricter.

Therefore, get yourselves a reliable aktiv with good specialists, managers of enterprises, engineers, economists, and scientists. Use all the intellectual potential we have.

We have another predilection: to limit the number of writers to three or five. This sometimes has a whiff of cliquishness about it. Let us vary our output so that the whole of society may take part; the whole of socialist pluralism, so to speak, should be present in each publication. That is what we need.

In conclusion, I will say that the CPSU highly values the contribution of the mass media to restructuring, because this is all going through man. Man is coming on to the front line of the struggle, and all restructuring take place through him. This means that his thoughts, his attitudes will be of decisive importance for how restructuring will get on. We should hold this kind of talk with man every day, making use of the immense capabilities of the mass media. The criteria remains the same, comrades: more socialism, more democracy. All the answers to the new questions must be sought within the framework of socialism, and not outside it. Socialism is the choice of our people. The party is at the service of the people. Serving the people is the highest duty of workers in the mass media. I hope that I have said in a spirit of openness [otkrovennost], party comradeship, what I wanted to say at this meeting after the June plenum of the Central Committee.

An exchange of opinions then took place.

S.A. Baruzdin, chief editor of the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV, dwelt on the content of literary journals on the threshold of the 70th anniversary of Great October.

It is a very good thing, he said, that we have now restored to our literature the unlawfully forgotten works, works which languished for years and never reached the reader. But sometimes I, as chief editor, have the feeling that in looking to the past we are seeking only what is negative in it, as if there was nothing positive in the 70 years we have lived through in Soviet conditions. I think this too offers grounds for serious thought.

And that is to say nothing of the fact that it is very difficult -- my colleagues in the journals know this -- to find a contemporary work that is brilliant and talented and tells of the life we live now, the difficulties of the restructuring. But this, at any event, would be topical material. In our country this is done brilliantly by the essayists and current affairs writers, but unfortunately as yet it is very badly done by the prose writers, the poets, and even the dramatists, who seemed to make a leap forward on the threshold of the restructuring, but today neither "Silver Wedding" ["Serebryanaya Svadba"] nor "Tell Me" ["Govori"] nor the other shows would surprise anyone, because the newspapers are reporting more controversial matters than plays.

In his speech, S.A. Baruzdin also touched on questions of strengthening the material and technical base of the literary journals, and improving material incentives for workers on these publications.

I.D. Laptev, chief editor of the newspaper IZVESTIYA, shared his thoughts on certain avenues of press work arising from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum:

Here we have every right to say that there has been a historic June plenum which has brought us to the most crucial milestone of the restructuring: its practical implementation. It is on this basis that I am thinking about my tasks as a newspaper editor, about the tasks of journalists. We have drawn up concrete plans. Concrete work is already under way.

What appears, in principle, to be most important here? It seems to me that the protection of the plenum's ideas and principles is now coming to the fore. Protection. That was not a slip of the tongue. Protection against misunderstanding, protection against cutting down, because cutting down will certainly take place. Protection against distortion, because before the ideas can reach those who will directly carry them out, some deformation and distortion of them will inevitably take place. Protection against group, departmental, and local egotism, because restructuring in this sphere -- the economic sphere -- will inevitably give rise to such phenomena. We must obviously be prepared for that. Protection, lastly, against corrosive doubts as to whether the situation will not deteriorate in principle, so to speak, because a truly colossal change is taking place.

As for propaganda proper, it seems to me that we must set ourselves the task of developing a kind of ideology of reform. By this I mean first and foremost a new economic thinking. This must be cultivated everywhere. We must strive to ensure that the working person at team level, at enterprise level, at the level of his own collective, clearly understands the basic ideas of the reform and associates them with his own future, his own prosperity.

Openness has become irreversibly established in society. But we must see that it is subject all the same to constant attacks and pressures. Departmental pressure on openness is not lessening.

M.S. Gorbachev: True.

I.D. Laptev: We make mistakes. We must be criticized for them, and seriously. But we should see that any mistakes can be used as a pretext for raising a question of principle.

M.S. Gorbachev: People are waiting for someone to make a mistake and do or say something inaccurate. That is why it is necessary to be responsible, since that can turn against the entire process of democratization and openness.

I.D. Laptev: It seems to me that all of us are becoming rather tired of openness and directness.

M.S. Gorbachev: Comrades, the Politburo is convinced that openness is the normal condition of society. Without it, we will achieve nothing. Society's health, its moral atmosphere, depend directly on openness, criticism, and self-criticism, permeated with concern for the fate of our common cause. The preservation of that atmosphere, which includes democracy, openness [glasnost], criticism, candor [otkrytost], sound judgments, responsible debates -- all this should be the norm of society's existence and its functioning. But openness is not only criticism. It is everything that is done in a constructive form; it is the assertion of what is new, of everything we have achieved.

A voice: Some people understand openness as the displaying of negative phenomena. And that alone...

M.S. Gorbachev: That is incorrect!

I.D. Laptev: It seems to me that the time has come for a new, in-depth analysis of the democratization process. It has begun. This process must be brought to public awareness so as to become a part of our mental makeup.

A.A. Belyayev, chief editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, noted the active participation of the creative intelligentsia in the restructuring and renewal of society's spiritual life.

The words of a popular personality in the arts, the speaker said, when they are animated and inspired by the party's ideas, are received by people profoundly and with great trust, which enhances the prestige of the press organs themselves. This influential force is today working actively for the restructuring.

Judging both by letters to our newspaper and by journalists' personal observations, among the artistic intelligentsia, as everywhere, the restructuring process is proceeding, one may say, dialectically. In the struggle of contradictions, clashes, and differing opinions, people in the arts are learning openness and democracy. It turns out that this is not very easy; it turns out that the long-awaited gratifying changes sometimes come into being with painful distortions. Self-esteem is injured and authorities who are not backed up by real talent or lose their heads in the face of the onslaught of new problems are overthrown. In this struggle it can happen that the truth does not always conquer immediately. There are disappointing losses too.

Cultural personalities say frankly that they need intelligent party guidance, advice, and assistance. They need it because the sound forces of the intelligentsia want to overcome group discord; they want to do real work, and not waste time on futile, ambitious infighting.

Another thing. Among critics today, it is considered unseemly to make critical comments about any of the movies or novels that lay on shelves or in desks for a long time and have now seen the light of day, although these works include some which are obviously weak. All this does not benefit art.

It is equally important to look attentively at the problems of international relations. In my view this problem needs open analysis -- candid and honest, albeit sensitive. The awareness of the international essence of Soviet socialist culture is disappearing from the speeches of certain personalities in the arts who advocate the orginality and purity of national cultures. Personalities in the national cultures are already beginning to speak of this with alarm.

M.S. Gorbachev: Every people has its language, its history; it wants to understand its roots. Can that be contrary to socialism? Of course not. But on the other hand, if someone retires into himself, struts about, and starts passing this off as an absolute value -- that is unacceptable. We are a state which unites a unique, harmonious family of peoples! So Lenin taught us.

A.A. Belyayev: Another aspect. It seems to me that it should hardly be considered normal for a fundamental article by a republican author, published in the central party press, to be firmly hushed up in the republic.

I would very much like to see the local party committees following and taking up the example of the CPSU Central Committe leadership's systematic and purposeful work with the mass media. Then the restructuring process will proceed more energetically everywhere.

Restructuring, S.P. Zalygin, chief editor of the journal NOVYY MIR, stressed, is the constant spiritual enrichment of society. We must not forget the ideological values of the past. Today this process is taking place in conditions of democracy. But any mistake on our part works against democracy.

M.S. Gorbachev: People are waiting for you and I to make mistakes.

S.P. Zalygin: Well, I have made some...

The speaker went on to raise the question of how our literature should deal with this topic: Historical events are one thing, but the people taking part in them differ and have entirely different views and characters. The same event affects people in different ways. This goes to make up the potential of our experience.

Next year our propaganda, our culture, will mark the 125th anniversary of Vernadskiy's birth. His teaching is the science of the relationship between man and nature. We must not, we have no right to let such events, such spiritual assets, pass by, not only in the sense of propaganda, but also in the sense of our common cause, in the sense of our own mental condition, because we need such spiritual props. Remember the impression that was made on all of us by the figure of a scientist like Timiryazev, the prototype for the well-known hero of the movie "The Baltic Deputy" ["Deputat Baltiki"]. And we have many such great people. All this must be put in the service of the strengthening of our soul, our convictions.

The speaker then touched on questions of print run policy and of improving labor remuneration in the editorial offices of literary journals.

S.A. Losev, general director of TASS, spoke of the experience of cadre certification in the collective, and also dwelt on certain problems of the technical re-equipping of the agency. Increasing the speed of information transmission is not a technical question, but a political one. Our main task today is to bring to the world public as promptly as possible the news about the progress of the restructuring and renewal and about our foreign policy initiatives. We have considerabale reserves for improving this work. One is to switch over to satellite communications -- the most economical and most reliable form of communications.

The speech of B.G. Vladimirov, chief editor of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, was devoted to questions of the practical implementation of the radical reform of the system of economic management and the work of enterprises and sectors in the conditions of self-financing, paying their own way, and economic accountability. In particular he focused attention on the fact that economists and enterprise leaders are waiting for the decisions adopted to be translated into the precise language of a few brief instructions or decrees, directives for each ministry. And in particular they are waiting for the conditions under which enterprises will have to work.

It is also important by joint efforts to speed up the clarification of ministries' functions, so that they can more rapidly rid themselves of the decree style and shake off distribution functions. In this connection, the speaker stressed, the newspaper should switch over from general arguments to the more concrete clarification of the nature of full economic accountability and self-financing as a process of transferring enterprises to their own sources of finance, as, figuratively speaking, a process of pulling the parasites off the state's neck.

E.G. Klimov, first secretary of the USSR Movie Makers Union board, touched on a range of problems associated with the restructuring of the Soviet movie industry.

During our work, the speaker said, we find confirmation of things that are often happening on a nationwide scale, so to speak. Many of our workers simply cannot understand that those of us in film cannot instantly switch over to the ideal base model which we elaborated together with the State Committee for Cinematography over 5-6 months.

Our opponents say that restructuring is impossible in film at present. We must wait for everything to change in the country, and then we too will be able to join in the restructuring, draw up appropriate projects, and so forth. In general, of course, we are not exactly marking time now, but we have realized that you cannot resolve everything with naked swords at the first onslaught, with a cavalry charge. We have realized that this is generally not a very rapid process. It cannot be done in 1 day.

M.S. Gorbachev: There are questions which must be tackled urgently. But there are also problems which should not be raised immediately. We all have our feet on the ground and we know the financial situation, the economy, and what we must do. This must all be taken into account, so that it does not look as if he who says: "Let us get on with it," is a patriot, while he who thinks about how it is to be done is not a patriot. Everything must be looked at honestly and objectively. It is necessary, of course, to have a program for the conservation of nature and the development of culture. But we must also think about housing. There is a great need for housing. The same goes for hospitals.

There are many problems, comrades. Therefore we must be realists, so that it does not look like this: You who speak and write are all for the people, while the government, which has not the resources to raise all these questions at once and resolve them all at once, is against the people. [paragraph continues]

You should not forget that. We are all very well aware of the significance of our spiritual sphere. Tremendous potential is inherent in it. And through it, by strengthening the people's spirit and civic stance, we raise them up and create the conditions for the development of their capabilities. We plan to do major work in the next few years to resolve many questions connected with the material base of the spiritual sphere. Many such questions have accumulated, including some in Moscow. Much needs to be restored here, and much to be built anew.

E.G. Klimov: You cannot resolve in a single stroke the restructuring in the movie industry, in a sphere which incorporates creativity, production, industry, and links with virtually every sphere of life. We are therefore preparing both theoretical and economic studies. Management workers and scientists are working with us. The State Committee for Cinematography has already done everything that was within its power in order to remove what was putting a brake on our life and on the autonomy of movie crews. But that is not enough. It is also necessary to remove the forest of instructions. Because if that does not happen, we will not be able to do anything and will not be able to introduce a new structure because the old instructions will hold us back.

The further development of the movie industry, the speaker went on to note, is held back by the laggardness of its technical equipment, and in particular the poor quality of film and of filming and sound-recording equipment. Movie distribution practice needs substantial improvement.

New documentaries with a current affairs thrust must be given more scope. These movies actively work for today's urgent needs, for the restructuring. In general the Soviet movie industry can and should more actively influence the spiritual climate in the country and spiritual life throughout the world.

Among the most important avenues of the activity of the mass media and current affairs journalism should be the problems of the development of agriculture, and in particular the problems of land use and the problems of the peasant's attitude toward the land, A.A. Ananyev, chief editor of the journal OKTYABR, stressed in his speech. He also expressed an opinion on the need to adopt a law on land use, so that the land has a true master who loves the land and cares about its health. Such a legislative act would help to strengthen the farmer's interest in the land and in the results of his labor on it.

Dwelling on questions of the activity of literary journals, the speaker noted that their subject matter should not be confined to the past, and in particular the thirties. There is also a need for a profound elaboration of a system of aesthetic values on the basis of which our country's literature could be evaluated.

G.A. Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, spoke of the need to step up the propagandization and assertion of our socialist moral values, our ideas and intentions. Communists are champions of the best moral values. This is acknowledged even abroad. Yet we sometimes shrink from saying so. I am not by any means calling for a slackening of the pressure of just criticism, but I am in favor of showing the truth in full.

And when people are only told one side of the truth, this, of course, causes a sense of inner protest in them, because people do not want to believe that their life has been in vain, that they have had no ideals. After all, that is not so.

M.S. Gorbachev: The most important thing is that their life was indeed not in vain.

G.A. Borovik: How could we be doing everything that the country, party, and people are doing now, if the life of past generations had been in vain?

Yet some people believe that under the slogan of restructuring you can erase the 70-year history of our socialist revolution and start idealizing czarist Russia. I maybe exaggerating a little, but the impression is created that there used to be untouchables of one kind, and now untouchables of another kind are being created. This can and must be overcome.

More attention should be devoted to international education. Editors should approach with great understanding, tact, and party sensitivity every publication which touches on international relations. Not all is well here. The peoples' friendship forged by the party is our greatest gain and must be protected.

S.V. Mikhalkov, chairman of the RSFSR Writers Union board, stressed in his speech that in the conditions of restructuring work has become more interesting, although more difficult, because it is necessary to break with old ideas and backward views. It has become more difficult for me to work too, as chief editor of FITIL, the speaker said, because the times have changed. We too must restructure ourselves and seek more profound moral themes. What was good 10 years ago is rather weak now. We must now dig more deeply in both literature and drama.

M.S. Gorbachev: We have heard here that dramatists and representatives of other genres have failed to respond to the restructuring. As you have observed, I did not say that. If people start responding to the tremendous cause we have undertaken without having thought about it, if they respond with mediocrities, we do not need that response. Let everything be digested, let everything be melted down. And things will emerge which, once we have read or seen them, we will remember; they will remain with us and give us guidelines for many years to come.

Comrade Mikhalkov went on to advance a number of proposals on questions of international education, the development of national literatures and languages, and the rule of the Russian language in giving the writer from a national republic access to the treasurehouse of world culture.

G.Ya. Baklanov, chief editor of the journal ZNAMYA, devoted his speech to the role of literature in the restructuring. Today,he said, current affairs writing is doing great work. We cannot expect novels to spring up instantaneously. So-called production-line literature has often disappeared like a butterfly, because it was made according to the conservative-innovator pattern. An innovator comes along, and everything changes all at once. This literature did not touch on the underlying point that the economy itself was unreceptive toward innovation. It provided a happy ending — the innovator convinces the conservative -- and thus it helped objectively to ensure that things remained as they were. Literature should not do that; it has no right to do that. Restructuring lies not only in boldness, not only in the economic and legal basis which is created in society, but also in the creation of the necessary moral base. Man as worker, as an individual, needs decency, needs all the moral qualities; he is not just a cog, and therefore the ultimate goal of th restructuring will not be the economy, but a spiritually developed, spiritually rich man, a spiritually rich people.

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of Great October, the speaker went on, it is important to speak as vividly as possible of the people who accomplished the revolution and stood firm in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

N.M. Gribachev, chief editor of the journal SOVETSKIY SOYUZ, stressed that the strongest, most interesting point in the work of the June plenum was that the concept of restructuring was created. Much, he said, will be very difficult and will have to be clarified and perhaps redone, but the concept exists, a multifaceted, comprehensive program of action.

But do we today have an equally complete concept of socialist culture? Not yet, although many very interesting thoughts have been advanced on various aspects of existence. We have lived under the Soviet system for 70 years. Our society is strikingly different from the bourgeois society, and here is food for thought. Our philosophers, social scientists, historians, and creative unions should work on this.

Questions of the international unity of the Soviet peoples were the subject of the speech by V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union. Our enemies, he said, are afraid that the Soviet peoples' unity is a monolith which will help us greatly in implementing the restructuring, and therefore they are trying to drive wedges into that monolith.

Comrade Karpov went on to speak of his impressions of the plenums of the Ukrainian and Belorussian Writers Unions, in whose work he took part. The plenums of the Ukrainian and Belorussian writers discussed, in particular, questions of bilingualism -- the study of the national and Russian languages -- and the discussion was valuable and constructive. The speaker advanced certain concrete proposals on improving the study of both Russian and the national languages of the union republics.

V.V. Karpov drew attention to the fact that in the literary and artistic journals there are not enough vivid, artistically convincing items devoted to the heroic pages of October.

A.D. Dementyev, chief editor of the journal YUNOST, spoke of young people's support for the restructuring. Today we have already discussed many problems, but there are some that concern young people, on which I would like to dwell. The June plenum was, metaphorically speaking, the Book of Genesis for all of us, especially for young people. We are receiving a colossal amount of mail. This mail confirms that young people are now full of activeness and very much support the party's line, support what is happening in our country. They say that things are, on the one hand, easier for young people, and on the other hand more difficult. They do not have to restructure themselves; they have to find a structure.

I think young people vary. Some need to be restructured, because they have covered a certain period of life which had a negative effect on them, which must now be fought against. And there are some young people who do indeed need to find a structure.

In this sense we are very well aware that our ideological opponents are doing everything possible somehow to influence our young people negatively. But their life is becoming more complicated. What we are saying about ourselves, the fact that we now have freedom of discussion, has meant that all their propaganda aimed at us has failed utterly.

We published a poll in the journal YUNOST -- 20 questions to young people. We had several thousand replies to this poll. Some staggering letters are coming in.

There is one letter, for instance: Why I am joining the party. It is from a young worker. He explains why he is joining the party specifically now. Not because he has reached the age, but because the party's prestige has now increased, it is full of new ideas, it has worldwide authority. That authority is such that for him, a worker, it is a source of additional pride to join the party now, in the 70th anniversary year.

The writer went on to say that Moscow's young people have fallen in love with the Arbat. But in the evenings it looks like a stage set. Everything is closed. There is nowhere for young people to sit.

M.S. Gorbachev: I also share the view that the whole center of Moscow, all the way to the Sadovoye Koltso, and even more so the Maloye Koltso, should be cleared of offices entirely and made available for people to sit, meet, and talk. All this must be done for the sake of the soul. And incidentally, Moscow has such a program now.

Comrade Dementyev then dwelt on the question of the spiritual education of the new generation of workers. The journals' editorial board plans to assume spiritual patronage over students at vocational and technical schools. We want to rouse the whole country, the speaker said, and appeal to all creative organizations in all the republics, and to cultural institutions. Everything must be done to ensure that when today's students at vocational and technical schools go into production, they will be really educated people, splendid in every respect.

One last thing. I think that all the same we need a popular ISTORIYA journal which would be aimed at schoolchildren, vocational and technical school students and other students, and people in general. The sacred word, the sacred concept "memory" has fallen into the hands of certain rogues and provocateurs, and we must preserve it, we must keep it pure. It is in this sense that "memory" has been a sacred, very precious word for our people.

A.D. Salynskiy, chief editor of the journal TEATR, devoted his speech to topical problems of the development of the Soviet theater. He stressed that we need criticism so as to assert the forces of good, that we must speak openly also about the bad things that there have been in the past and that have become historically obsolete.

The speaker then drew attention to the fact that the network of theaters is developing only slowly in the country, even in the big cities. At the same time poor use is made of the palaces of culture, because of high rents. He spoke of the need for broader development of the studio theater movement.

A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, spoke of cooperation between television and radio and the creative unions.

Concluding the meeting, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said: Everything that has been said here inspires me very much. We highly appraise this meeting. We will continue to build our relations in this way. The Central Committee, those who are working in it today, and in the leadership of the state think about our relations precisely on this basis, on the basis of meetings, conversations, and discussions, working out a united approach, respecting the opinions and positions of those with whom they hold discussions, and proceeding from our common responsibility.

We are all serving the people and our country, and we are serving socialism. The party is at the service of the people, and all its creative forces serve the people. This service must be borne worthily and courageously. That is the first thing.

The second thing is this: I am very happy with the atmosphere at our meeting. It is a reflection of what is happening in the country and in society. I think that without such an atmosphere I would not come away with the impression I do from our meeting. Let us keep this atmosphere together: Keep it, strengthen it, and develop it. Of course, our contacts should not be restricted to such conferences alone. The Central Committee is open. When you need to seek advice, do come. You are welcome to have a conversation: an honest, open, and direct conversation. You bear an immense responsibility for ensuring that our political line and our course for the renewal of society acquires strength, intensifies, and yields even greater results. You bear this responsibility together with us and the party.

We are approaching the 70th anniversary of our revolution. We must make a profound generalization of the path we have traveled and link historical analysis with the solving of today's problems of restructuring in an organic way. We are proud of everything that enriches our long and great history, and we are prepared to augment this common wealth of ours, both materially and spiritually. We must, within the framework of openness [glasnost], democratization, and criticism, preserve the atmosphere of openness [otkrytost] in our society. So I would like to conclude our conversation with what I began with. We highly appraise the front you are maintaining. We cannot get by without this front, comrades! We would not like for there to be no changes on this front; on the contrary, we would like the changes to be in the spirit of how we have arranged our political line for the future. I wish you successes.

PRAVDA CARRIES RESOLUTION ON KAZAKH PARTY

PM151735 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 87 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "An the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On the Work of the Kazakh Republican Party Organization on the International and Patriotic Education of the Working People."

The resolution notes that during the years of Soviet power and with comprehensive assistance from all the fraternal peoples, the Kazakh SSR has achieved considerable successes in economic, social, and spiritual development. The republic is now a major industrial and agricultural region. A genuine cultural revolution has been carried out and a scientific and creative intelligentsia has been formed. Relations of equal rights, trust, and mutual respect have emerged among the multinational population on the firm foundation of socialist internationalism and common fundamental interests. At all stages of socialist building Kazakhstan's working people have shown high Soviet patriotism and fidelity to the Leninist principles of internationalism and friendship among the peoples.

At the same time the former leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and many party committees in the republic have committed serious mistakes in implementing the nationalities policy and have substantially relaxed the work on the working people's international and patriotic education. The rapid growth in national self-awareness was not taken into account nor were timely and correct solutions found to the problems that arose. At a certain stage, party organizations essentially stopped struggling against manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism, and parochialism in the economic, cultural, and spiritual spheres. This had a negative effect on the republic's socioeconomic and cultural development.

In the late seventies and early eighties Kazakhstan's contribution to the country's unified national economic complex began to match its growing economic and scientific potential less and less. Stagnation phenomena encompassed all sectors of the national economy and sociopolitical life. Production rates fell sharply and the qualitative indicators of economic development deteriorated. Over the last two 5-year plans Kazakhstan posted the lowest national income and labor productivity growth rates in the country. Manifestations of isolationism and parasitism increased. Many types of industrial and agricultural output systematically failed to be delivered to all-union stocks or to consumers in other republics.

The plans for sociocultural building were constantly disrupted. The provision of foodstuffs to the population deteriorated. The principles of social justice were violated. Embezzlement of socialist property, overreporting, and bribery assumed a considerable scale. Drunkenness and drug abuse were spreading. All this created an unhealthy moral atmosphere, gave rise to undesirable phenomena in inter-nation relations, and aroused alarm, bewilderment, and confusion among Communists and all honest working people.

CPSU Central Committee resolutions repeatedly drew the attention of Kazakhstan's party committees to the serious shortcomings in economic development, the low party and state discipline, and to the failings in ideological and political work. However, the proper conclusions were not drawn in the republic. Ostentation and glorification continued to thrive, achievements were exaggerated, results were not assessed critically, and failures and shortcomings were hushed up. A false impression of the true state of affairs was thus created and sentiments of national egoism and complacency appeared among some cadres.

The republic's leading organs avoided the purposeful molding of national cadres drawn from among the working class -- the main bearer and proponent of internationalist ideas. The percentage of Kazakhs among industrial workers has fallen, particularly in the mining and metallurgical sectors. Few young Kazakhs enter vocational and technical colleges or secondary specialized educational establishments which train cadres for leading industrial sectors. At the same time the network of VUZ's and affiliates was expanded without adequate grounds. Advantageous conditions were created for Kazakh young people to enter VUZ's, favoritism thrived, existing entry regulations were violated, and grades were marked up. The training of specialists is conducted with no consideration for real requirements. As a result, a considerable number of workers holding diplomas are employed in positions which do not require a higher or secondary specialized education.

Great damage has been inflicted on the international education of the working people by crude mistakes committed in cadre policy. During the selection and appointment to leading posts, nationality, family and regional ties, and personal servility were frequently the decisive factors rather than political, professional, or moral qualities. In an atmosphere of cliquishness and back-scratching, a considerable number of key posts in party, state, and economic organs, scientific institutions, and educational establishments were occupied by careerists, sycophants, and toadies. A moral degradation of a proportion of the cadres took place.

The appropriate representation of the nations and ethnic groups living in the republic was not ensured at all levels of the sociopolitical structure. Distortions in national representation occurred during the formation of the party and state apparatus, the staffing of the law enforcement organs and scientific and cultural establishments, recruitment to creative unions, admission to the party, and nomination for state awards. [paragraph continues]

The aforementioned violations and failure to attend to the needs and requirements of certain national groups resulted in an exodus of part of this population from the republic and in particular from Guryev, Dzhezkazgan, Kzyl-Orda, Semipalatinsk, and Tselinograd Oblasts.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations failed for years on end to consider questions of international education, and there was no in-depth analysis of the processes that were taking place. The Kazakh people's past was frequently idealized in scientific papers and works of literature and art and there were attempts to rehabilitate bourgeois nationalists.

At the same time the revolutionary past of the peoples of Kazakhstan and their struggle for the establishment of Soviet power and for socialism were essentially hushed up. The friendship of peoples was generally confined to declarative statements, and the fraternal assistance in the establishment and development of Soviet Kazakhstan was mentioned only at jubilee celebrations. Trends toward national exclusiveness intensified. Ties with fraternal republics were curtailed and reduced to ostentatious measures, and there were virtually no businesslike exchanges of experience and effective competition.

The struggle against the mores of feudal landlords and against patriarchal and tribal customs was virtually reduced to naught in the republic. Work to expose the reactionary essence of Islam and its attempts to preserve outmoded traditions and views and to consolidate national isolation is conducted in a slack fashion. In many areas there are attempts to revive religious activities and the influence of the clergy on various aspects of the population's life and daily activities is growing. Party organizations display a conciliatory attitude toward leaders and Communists who take part in religious ceremonies excusing this as a local characteristic.

Formalism, bureaucracy, and empty showiness took firm root in the education of young people. Party leadership of the Komsomol organizations has slackened. The processes taking place among young people and especially in student collectives were not subjected to an in-depth analysis. The number of young people who volunteer for work at all-union shock construction sites has decreased. Military-patriotic education has been neglected.

The serious blunders and miscalculations in the work of the republic party committees have led to increasing manifestations of nationalism which were not cut short in time and, what is more, were hushed up or described as ordinary hooliganism. Even the nationalist demonstrations which took place in Tselinograd in 1979 were not subjected to a criticial political assessment by the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. The disturbances in Alma-Ata in December of last year were also a manifestation of Kazakh nationalism.

The development of an unhealthy atmosphere in the republic's sociopolitical life, including relations between nationalities, was largely assisted by the unscrupulous stance of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the crude violations of the norms and principles of party leadership by D.A. Kunayev, the former Central Committee first secretary. The style of his work was marked by subjectivism, the principle of collective decisionmaking was violated, and sycophancy and toadyism were encouraged. Nepotism flourished and in his immediate entourage there were quite a few people who abused their official position for personal gain.

The CPSU Central Committee regards the deviations from the norms of party life and the violations of the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy which occurred in Kazakhstan as intolerable. Today, when the revolutionary processes of renewal encompass all aspects of society's life, the timely solution of problems arising in relations beteen nationalities assumes key importance. Any manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism, and national exclusiveness or conceit must be regarded as an encroachment on the greatest gain of socialism -- the fraternal friendship of the people and the international unity of the Soviet society.

The resolution notes that work to improve the situation and establish order has been under way in the Republic of late. However, it has still not acquired the necessary scope of depth and not all the components of the Republic party organization have as yet actively joined in this work. Restructuring is proceeding too slowly in state organs, trade unions, the Komsomol, and creative organizations and establishments.

It was deemed necessary for the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the primary party organizations to immediately take the most decisive measures for the elimination of shortcomings in working people's international and patriotic education and for the improvement and further development of national relations.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasized that internationalism not in words but in deeds must primarily take the form of boosting Kazakhstan's contribution to the country's unified national economic complex, steadily increasing returns from the science and production potential created in the Republic, and actively participating in the solution of the tasks of the whole people.

The Communist Party Central Committee and the republican Council of Ministers must elaborate and implement specific measures to eliminate stagnation phenomena in the economy in the next few years and unconditionally fulfill the Food Program, and must achieve sharp improvement in qualitative indicators and repayment of the debt accumulated in terms of output deliveries to all-union stocks. Instances of local favoritism and parasitical sentiments must be resolutely blocked. The strict performance of contractual deliveries, especially interrepublican ones, must become the norm of activity by each production collective.

Rational utilization of labor resources must be ensured. Particular attention must be given to the further consolidation of national cadres in the working class, primarily in industry's leading sectors. There must be an expansion of interrepublican exchanges of cadres, and of participation of workers and specialists in the opening up of new regions. Effective competition and exchange of experience must be organized with labor collectives, cities, rayons, and oblasts in fraternal republics.

The development of the social and cultural sphere must be purposefully and persistently pursued. Party committees, soviet and trade union organs, and economic leaders must be held more responsible for the creation of the conditions necessary for labor and daily life, the implementation of housing, cultural, and consumer services construction programs, and the improvement of food supplies and medical services for the population.

Kazakhstan's party committees have been instructed, taking guidance from the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions, to fundamentally restructure the entire system of work with cadres and make it genuinely democratic. [paragraph continues]

It must be ensured that every party organization fully uses its statutory rights in the solution of cadres questions. Openness must be developed to the utmost, labor collectives' opinions must more fully be taken into account regarding the promotion of leaders, and elective principles must be expanded. Protectionism and the selection of personnel according to family, tribal, parochial, or friendship criteria must be resolutely eradicated.

Proper representation in leadership organs, the party and soviet apparatus, and in public organizations must be ensured for all nations and ethnic groups living in the republic, without allowing any excessive haste or mechanistic approach in this work. There must be an improvement in the training of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol leadership personnel, economic leaders, and ideological cadres in the sphere of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on nations and national relations and the CPSU's nationalities policy. The study of these problems must be organized in all components of political training and economic education and at seminars and study course for the retraining of cadres. Each leader and Communist must consistently implement the Leninist nationalities policy and set an example in the performance of international and patriotic duty.

The party Central Committee considers that the cultivation of firm internationalist beliefs and patriotic feelings must become one of the main avenues of organizational and political work among the masses. It is very important to make this activity systematic and improve its scientific foundations. It is necessary to analyze in depth the processes and trends occurring in national relations, to realistically assess the situation, and to take into account the specific features of different categories and groups of the population.

All propaganda and mass political work media must use specific examples to vividly and in depth reveal the historical achievements in the solution of the nationalities question, and the role of international brotherhood in the destiny of the Kazakh people and the development of Soviet Kazakhstan. The objective nature of the process of deepening internationalization in all spheres of social life must be convincingly explained. Constant concern must be shown to satisfy the daily life nd cultural requirements of all nations and ethnic groups and to promptly solve any emerging problems. The necessary conditions must be created for the further development of national/Russian bilingualism.

The need to give special attention to the organization of international and patriotic education among the scientific and creative intelligentsia and among young people was pointed out. High standards of contacts among nations and respectful attitude toward the history, language, and customs of fraternal peoples must be cultivated. Skills must be developed in approaching any national problems from class positions. An active and assertive struggle must be waged against nationalistic sentiments, feudal landlord mores, family and tribal traditions, and religious prejudices having a negative effect on national awareness. Sound arguments must be used in exposing any hostile falsifications of the CPSU's nationalities policy and any attempts by bourgeois propaganda to sow the seeds of discord between nations and ethnic groups.

The Central Committee has obliged the republic's party and soviet organs to aim for improvement in the training, distribution, and utilization of specialists, bearing in mind the prospects for Kazakhstan's socioeconomic development. Measures are to be implemented for greater specialization of training establishments, imposition of order in their network, and abolition of branches, faculties, departments, and laboratories which do not have skilled scientific and teaching cadres and the necessary material base. [paragraph continues]

Protectionism, bribery, and other negative phenomena in admission to VUZ's must be eradicated.

The teaching and educational process in VUZ's, technical colleges, colleges, and general education schools must play a greater role in shaping young people's scientific outlook on life and their ideological, moral, and civic development. The standard of teaching in social sciences must be raised. An atmosphere of friendship and mutual assistance must be established in multinational students' collectives. Students' initiative and self-motivation must be developed in the solution of all questions concerning the organization of studies, socially useful labor, free time, and daily life. There must be regular meetings between leading party and soviet personnel and the professorial and teaching staff, school teachers, students, and school pupils.

The party's leadership of the Komsomol must be strengthened. Young people from all nationalities must be encouraged to participate broadly in the 5-year plan's all-union construction projects. Tourism and cultural and sports ties with other republics must be developed.

The Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences must play a greater role in implementing the practical tasks of accelerating scientific and technical progress which face the republic's national economy.

It is necessary to ensure that social scientists take a more active part in the elaboration of topical problems of the struggle against nationalistic and other negative phenomena, and in drafting specific recommendations for party, soviet, and economic organs. There must be better coordination with the country's scientific institutions regarding research into the problems of national relations. The study of the history of the Kazakh SSR and of Russian-Kazakh relations must be conducted from consistently Marxist-Leninist positions. School and VUZ textbooks on the republic's history must be revised for the purpose of objectively shedding light on past events and historical personalities.

Instructions were given to improve the party leadership of creative organizations and unions. Primary party organizations in creative unions must be strengthened with talented and socially active representatives of the artistic intelligentsia. Utmost support must be given to workers in literature and the arts in creating new and important works, reflecting from class and party positions the essence and meaning of the Leninist nationalities policy and the events and phenomena of the Kazakh people's present and past, and helping to strengthen the friendship of USSR peoples.

Particular attention must be given to the processes of reciprocal enrichment of national cultures. For this purpose, there must be regular presentations of shows, concerts, art exhibitions, and movie festivals from union and autonomous republics. The heroic-patriotic subject repertory of professional collectives and amateur artistic groups must be supplemented with works by authors from fraternal republics. Museums must play a greater role in propagandizing the union of Soviet peoples in their common struggle for socialism.

Effective measures must be taken to strengthen law and order, discipline, and organization in different spheres of life in the republic. All means of party-political and administrative influence must be used to achieve the decisive eradication of corruption and money-grubbing. Labor collectives must play a greater role in the struggle against embezzlement, exaggerated reporting, drunkenness and alcoholism, and drug addiction. Administrative organs must be strengthened with cadres, and they must be more active in ensuring strict observance of laws, citizens' rights, and the principles of social justice.

The Communist Party Central Committees of the union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms are recommended to analyze in depth the state of affairs regarding the implementaion of the stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's January (1987) Plenum in national relations, and to plan and implement effective measures to intensify the international and patriotic education of different groups of the population. Active use must be made for this purpose of preparations for the Great October Socialist Revolution's 70th anniversary and the 65th anniversary of the USSR's formation.

OFFICIALS ADDRESS ACADEMY GRADUATES IN MOSCOW

Slyunkov Speaks to Economists

PM291425 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Cadres of Restructuring": "Graduation of Students of USSR Council of Ministers National Economy Academy"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the latest, eighth graduation of students of the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy was held in Moscow 27 June.

In the presidium were N.N. Slyunkov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secreary; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers; and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

N.N. Slyunkov addressed the gathering. On behalf of the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, he congratulated the graduates of the Academy of the National Economy and students of the Institute for Raising the Qualifications of Leaders in the Highest Link of State Management on successfully completing their studies and thanked the academy's collective for its great work in training the new reinforcement for the cadre corps of the national economy.

Pointing out that this latest graduation has coincided with the close of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, N.N. Slyunkov spoke about the work of the plenum, the creative atmosphere which predominated there, and the vigorous and profoundly interested discussion of the report of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that the documents adopted by the plenum and the measures propsed in them are, without exaggeration, of historic significance. They combine our multifacted experience of socialist building with all its achievements and complexities and the dialectical, creative development of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the contemporary stage and to the new requirements and potential for improving productive forces and production relations.

The plenum marks a new, truly revolutionary stage in the implementation of restructuring. It transfers the ideas of restructuring to the plane of practical activity in the most decisive social sphere -- the economic sphere, which affects the interests of the entire people. A package of concerted and complementary measures and the stages of their consistent implementation are defined in it. This makes it possible to check each subsequent step against the overall scheme of the reform and to avoid adopting ill-considered and contradictory decisions.

The speaker described the main directions of the reform being implemented for the radical restructuring of economic management and the new conditions under which the economy will function with the adoption of the USSR Law on State Enterprise (Association) and with the transition from primarily administrative to primarily economic methods of management.

He drew the attention of those present to the fact that, now that a constructive long-term program for restructuring economic management has been elaborated and major, fundamental decisions on its most important directions have been adopted, chief significance attaches to organizational and political work on implementing them. The plenum considers it inadmissible that a lack of reliable organizational backup, tardiness, and lack of coordination of actions should lead, as happened in the past, to delays and incomplete implementation of management reform.

It is important not only to understand the general principles of the reform but also to know how to make efficient use of them in everyday life by improving the style, forms, and methods of work. It is necessary to act competently and responsibly in this, learn how to use the new rights, and significantly strengthen discipline in the widest sense of the word.

Addressing the graduates, the speaker emphasized that the success and pace of restructuring depend to a decisive degree on how quickly and profoundly our cadres perceive the need for changes and on how creatively and purposefully they implement the party line.

The time at which you are proceeding to work in the national economy is not an easy but a difficult period, he said. It is a time of breaking with the old and introducing the new economic mechanism. Everyone must actively learn to work under conditions of broad democracy and openness, master economic methods of management, formulate new approaches, and assimilate the complex and dialectically contradictory art of restructuring and of combining public and personal interests. The new economic mechanism is the best ally in this.

The plenum posed the question like this: Right now, at the initial stage of restructuring, in every work sector, everyone is to strive for visible practical results in his own sphere of activity.

Here special significance attaches to resolving social questions, which must be constantly in the field of view of economic organs and party and soviet leaders. The passiveness of those leaders who do not make use of the opportunities which have opened up for resolving social tasks is particularly intolerable in the present situation.

Our cadres must constantly remember that modern leaders must be not only tacticians but also strategists.

At the same time, it is necessary to look far ahead, clearly picture the prospect, and prepare the ground for resolving tomorrow's tasks, so as not to end up without scientific and technical groundwork and not lag behind in economic and social development.

Reform demands a higher standard of economic work in all components of the national economy, and in the basic component above all -- in enterprises and associations, N.N. Slyunkov continued. [paragraph continued]

The active introduction of the cost-cutting mechanism, the securing of a high return on every ruble invested, and a sensible attitude to the expenditure of money earned now rank among the basic criteria for evaluating the leadership of economic activity.

Our leading cadres, including the academy's graduates, must set an example in restructuring, carrying the rest along behind them.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to emphasize that the June plenum decisions make new demands on the system of training and retraining cadres. The Academy of the National Economy must fulfill a prominent role in realizing an active cadre policy.

The academy's most important task is to instruct and educate the new generation of economic leader cadres, who have fundamental Marxist-Leninist training, have professional knowledge of the economy and of planning, have mastered to perfection economic, legal, and social-psychological methods and technical means of management, and are well acquainted with progessive Soviet and foreign experience in this sphere.

The speaker pointed out that mass universal primary economic education is needed today. Its organization is a very important task, including for the Academy of the National Economy.

The time has come to considerabely enhance its role in resolving urgent fundamental and applied problems of restructuring the management system and in preparing the most important normative and methods documents in this sphere.

In conclusion, N.N. Slyunkov expressed the wish that the graduates of the academy and the Institute for Raising Qualifications will become actively involved in the struggle for the successful fulfillment of the tasks advanced by the Communist Party of the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of our society.

Ye.K. Smirnitskiy, rector of the academy; N.N. Rutkevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and M.V. Struk and V.D. Makarov, academy students, spoke on behalf of the collective.

Razumovskiy Address

PM291503 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Cadres of Restructuring": "Graduation of Students and Postgraduates at CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the latest graduation of students and postgraduates was held 27 June in the party's leading educational institution -- the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

G.P. Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the participants in the meeting. On behalf of the party Central Committee he cordially congratulated the graduates on completing their studies and receiving the highest party political education.

This graduation at the academy, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out, is taking place on the eve of the glorious 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, at a time of qualitative transformations in all aspects of our socialist society. The restructuring under way in the country is a direct continuation of the October cause and attests convincingly to the party's unshakable loyalty to its banner, to Marxism-Leninism, and to noble communist ideals.

There is already good reason now for saying that restructuring has become irreversible and is assuming an increasingly purposeful and effective nature.

At the same time, as the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum stated, the necessary changes are still taking place only slowly. In this regard, its decisions emphasize that now that the party and the country have entered the most crucial period of restructuring -- the period of practical actions -- the chief thing is to increase the pace of transformations in every possible way and to shift the center of gravity to developing painstaking and purposeful organizational and ideological political work in all areas of domestic and foreign policy.

The Central Committee June Plenum and the decisions adopted there, G.P. Razumovskiy continued, open up a new, exceptionally important stage in the process of the transformations being implemented -- one of radical restructuring of economic management. The essence of the program adopted at the plenum for the radical reform of economic management is the switch from primarily administrative to primarily economic methods of leadership at all levels, to the broad democratization of management, and the all possible activation of the human factor. More democracy, more socialism -- this, strictly speaking, is the sense and the general thrust of this reform, as well as of restructuring as a whole.

With all their organizational, political, ideological, and educational work, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said, party organizations are obliged to be at the head of restructuring, the vanguard of transformations. It is now necessary to strengthen party influence in all directions of our work, achieve skillful leadership of social processes, and formulate new creative approaches. Party committees bear great responsibility for this. They must, above all, impart a political, all-state approach to the cardinal restructuring of management.

The speaker drew the academy graduates' attention to the fact that the switch to economic methods of national economic management was substantiated in the report of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, at the Central Committee plenum through an in-depth analysis of the socialist society's real problems. The need for this approach to work is important for every leader, particularly a political leader. It is necessary to study economic methods of management, study and investigate new processes and trends, master the dialetical approach, and combine theoretical achievements more closely with practice.

G.P. Razumovskiy emphasized the increasing role and responsibility of enterprise and association party organizations in connection with the transformation of the economic mechanism. A very important task of party organizational work now is to maximally galvanize the activities of primary party organizations and persistently strive to ensure that each one actually becomes a dynamic force and the genuine political nucleus of the labor collective and effectively influences its entire life and deeds.

Whatever work the academy's graduates do -- party, soviet, or economic work -- they must constantly keep within their field of view all questions associated with satisfying people's needs, vital requirements, and material and spiritual aspirations and resolve them persistently and consistently. As the June plenum emphasized, the passiveness of those leaders who do not utilize the new opportunities which have opened up for resolving social tasks is particularly intolerable in the present situation.

It is no coincidence that the plenum resolution calls the developing process of democratization the foundation of transformations. The Basic Provisions for the Radical Restructuring of the Economy, approved by the plenum, rely entirely on democratization. This could also be said of the Draft Law on State Enterprise. Only on the basis of democracy is it possible to involve the working masses in vigorous economic, cultural, and social activity, create a favorable atmosphere for implementing an efficient cadre policy, avoid mistakes in formulating decisions, and achieve effective control from bottom to top. This insistently requires all our cadres to learn properly how to work and manage under conditions of democracy.

The democratization of management in no way weakens but, on the contrary, enhances still further the role and responsibility of party organizations, including in such an important matter as the election of economic leaders Party organizations are obliged to have a good knowledge of the moral and psychological atmosphere in the collective and of the professional, political, and moral qualities of people worthy of promotion, to show constant concern for creating a reliable reserve of cadres, and actively shape public opinion.

All our cadres must constantly improve their activity rearding the new conditions and substantially change their whole work style. Serious psychological restructuring, requiring considerable effort and constant self-control on the part of the worker himself, is necessary for this.

Pointing out that the graduates include comrades from eight socialist countries, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that this is a specific manifestation of the constantly strengthening friendship and cooperation among the fraternal countries. He wished all the graduates great successes in their upcoming responsible work.

Professor R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the academy; graduates V.K. Khudoshin and Cheslav Val [name as published]; and Professor G.G. Vodolazov, head of a department; spoke on behalf of the students, postgraduates, and teaching staff of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

The participants in the ceremonial meeting adopted a greetings letter to the CPSU Central Committee.

LATVIA'S PUGO INTERVIEWED ON JUNE PLENUM, ECONOMY

PM101349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by own correspondent N. Kozhanov under the rubric. "This Was Discussed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum": "Without Dawdling on the Way" -- date of interview not given, first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Riga -- Against the backdrop of the most profound and large-scale changes in the history of socialist-building which are currently taking place in the country and in society, the idea of the key role of party organizations in the cause of restructuring and of their paramount task of being in the vanguard of all transformations and ensuring the normal functioning of the Soviet national economic organism rang out with particular force and urgency at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum.

How are Latvian Communists and party committees tackling this task? Are they ready for work in the new conditions, are they in step with life and with the prevailing moods and dynamic processes within society? What problems do they fae on the difficult path of renewal? These questions define the main theme of the interview with plenum participant B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by a PRAVDA correspondent.

[Pugo] First of all I cannot but share, albeit briefly, my personal impressions from the work of the plenum. It is a sense of involvement in a great — and without exaggeration — a truly historic event in the life of the party and the state. You see, this is the first time that we have been given a clear outline of a comprehensive, flexible, and dynamic system of national economic management in a so to speak palpable, real form rather than abstract wishful thinking. The real economic mechanism is geared by its whole nature to acceleration...

[Kozhanov] However, something else was also discussed at the plenum with utmost frankness: namely, how intolerably slowly the flywheel of acceleration is gathering momentum and the fact that the braking mechanism has, alas, not yet been crushed and continues to operate quite actively all over.

[Pugo] Well, that too is a reality to which we no longer can reconcile ourselves, nor hae we a right to do so. The plenum once again threw light on the fact that we have accumulated so much trash in our economic management, so many conservative norms and regulations well suited to Oblomovism [term coined by writer Goncharov for the inertia and indolence of his hero], to leading a quiet life, that the mechanism of management has long ago become a mechanism of mismanagement. The plenum also indicated highly specific ways of overcoming the phenomena of stagnation. We all now have in our hands what could be described as the blueprints for restructuring. Furthermore, the absolute majority of working people have now gotten a taste for change; they resolutely favor the unconditional implementation of the course outlined by the party, and demand that it be carried through to its end without stopping halfway. Thus, the most important thing now is to tackle practical work more energetically and without delays.

[Kozhanov] Are all the party organizations in your republic ready for this? Are there no signs of the inertia of old methods and approaches when "individual mistakes here and there" were caefully concealed and covered up by optimistic "average indicators" and by hearty reports about the situation improving "on the whole?"

[Pugo] This is not an easy question. In human terms, I believe, it is understandable that people take pride in their achievements and this applies equally to individual workers, collectives, and society as a whole. And we, for instance, are noting, and not without satisfaction, that our Latvian SSR occupies the first place in the union in per capita national income, and one of the first places in the production of meat, milk, and eggs. And why should we not be pleased that the republic has attained leading positions in the production of goods in the top-quality category and that, for the 2d year running we have no loss-making kolkhozes or sovkhozes? All this is a living expression of the growing momentum of restructuring, of its initial results.

However, it is a poor show when certain workers, including leading workers, use the smallest improvements and achievements as a pretext for complacency and slackening, for going round and round the selfsame problems without looking deeper, living in the shadow of old habits and parasitic moods, and slowly sliding, as in the past, into the quagmire of lethargy and the old rut of irresponsibility. Here we must not relax our vigilance for a moment; we must keep our ear to the ground, as they say.

[Kozhanov] What, specifically, do you have in mind?

[Pugo] The sorest point in the republic now is the serious lag in the fulfillment of plan targets which has formed in the first half of the year. It is tempting, of course, to refer to the difficult weather conditions which prevailed at the beginning of the year, to the rigorous standards applied by the state acceptance service, to the constant failures of allied enterprises to meet delivery commitments, and to chronic hitches in material and technical supply caused by gross miscalculations by a number of union ministries. All this was, of course, bound to affect the prevailing situation. However, can we ignore our own inertia and inflexibility?

For instance, at the beginning of the year, the Central Committee Bureau, aware of the difficult situation concerning the plan, issued specific instructions to the republic council of ministers, the Gosplan, ministries, and leaders of major enterprises. And what has happened? Many of the instructions are "safely" stuck at various institutional levels and the whole matter is bogged down in bureaucracy. Most of the republic's soviet, economic, and even party organs where the by no means pleasing results of the first quarter were discussed, confined themselves to issuing general instructions along the lines of: "It is necessary to instruct... improve... enhance... ensure..." Whereas what was needed for painstaking work in every collective to reveal and eliminate the specific causes of the lag and to mobilize available reserves, so as to make it absolutely clear how, by what means, and when the republic's industry would get into the swing of the annual plan.

In short, what was necessary was the very work which, alas, is properly getting under way only now when the republic Communist Party Central Committee was forced to hold an extraordinary plenum on this question. In the end we will cope with the plan, but how much expenditure, how many losses could have been avoided if every party committee, not excluding the republic Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, of course, if every department, and every economic organ had acted in step with the demands of the time. After all, no one has created any preferential conditions for enterprises in Daugavpils, the republic's second biggest city, and yet they are coping on the whole successfully with the set targets and setting an example of efficiently organized, rhythmical work.

[Kozhanov] It seems to me, Boris Karlovich, that the example which you have just cited does not bear out those who claim that until the process of economic restructuring is fully completed, efficient work cannot be expected. They are saying that therefore it does not make sense "to make a special effort," that there is no point in it.

[Pugo] You mean, they are simply waiting for fair weather? Well, if you take this kind of attitude, even the best economic methods will not help you. After all, as is well known, everything hinges on people. And this is all the more true since we are having to reorganize ourselves as we go along; we have to learn to work in the new fashion "on the march" so to speak; we have to look ahead and at the same time retain urgent current tasks in our field of vision.

So what can be said in this context about certain of our leaders of ministries and party committees who find it impossible to give up bureaucracy and red tape, who cling to the habit of issuing orders and dispensing "valuable advice" on any subject from their comfortable chairs without bothering about end results. And, following their example, many officials of the party apparatus and sector headquarters personnel are sitting in their offices, hardly ever coming out, buried under piles of paper, instead of paying frequent visits to labor collectives, studying the initial results of the new, progressive methods on the spot and helping to solve production problems.

You will understand that the benefit for society and production from this kind of excessive paper work is negligible. The "pockets" of inertia, which were discussed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum still exist even in our republic, unfortuntely. An acute shortage of initiative, enterprise, and responsibility -- that is what is most alarming about the management apparatus.

[Kozhanov] Yet, judging by appearances, the Latvian Communists have not wasted the 2 years since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

[Pugo] Yes, these years have been a good, difficult, and demanding lesson. A lesson in openness and democratization, above all. To date, for instance, more than 6,000 leaders of various levels have been elected in the republic in open and public contests. Furthermore, public opinion polls and the analysis of practical results have shown quite plainly that the application of the elective principle in the work with cadres, which is henceforth enshrined in the Law on State Enterprise, does not undermine -- as some have feared -- but on the contrary strengthens one-man management in production, enhances supervision from below, and increases the conscientiousness of labor and consequently also its efficiency.

I am convinced that party organs simply do not have the right to pass up the political leadership of this important process and let it take its own course. Haphazardness in cadre work is no less dangerous than stage management. It is important for Communists to be familiar with the moral and psychological climate in the collective and with the professional, moral, and political qualities of people worthy of nomination and to be able to strive skillfully for the election of their candidates.

In general, we all have much to learn and relearn to be able to operate successfully in the new conditions. We have, for instance, recently introduced the practice of leaders delivering regular accounts to party committees and organizations and we have obliged senior officials to report regularly on visits to primary party organizations and the work carried out there. We have set up a working group consisting of Central Committee members to give prompt assistance to lagging collectives and those which produce mediocre results. Certification of party Central Committee apparatus, gorkom, and raykom officials has been carried out using their personal participation in restructuring as the main yardstick in assessing their work.

I must also mention our permanent courses for party committee first secretaries. We only have one aim -- helping every organization, every leader to harness his energy, to rid himself of the habit of marking time, to learn to act boldly, with initiative, without having to be prompted, without hedging, to learn to live and operate in the conditions of the growing process of democratization. After all, the role of party organizations, especially primary party organizations, must constantly improve in the course of restructuring. Their activeness is the main guarantee of our success.

Clearly the time has also come to review some fossilized canons of party practice which have essentially become an impeding factor. So for instance, it is still the practice today to use age brackets, education, length of service, and other statistical data in determining how many and what kind of leading cadres in percentages there should be. Are there still people who do not understand what an impediment this represents in working with people? Is it not obvious that only the implementation everywhere of the Leninist idea of competition opens up any room for a genuine contest of talent, produces nonformalistic leaders, and leads to a speedier advancement of nonparty people, women, and young people?

The procedure for the preliminary endorsement of officials on the party schedule is also clearly obsolete in the new situation. How, for instance, would we be able to agree in advance on the nomination of a future rector of an agricultural academy if 16 contenders were taking part in the elections?

[Kozhanov] In short, there still are more than enough bureaucratic obstacles, even in party work?

[Pugo] Quite, but in this area a great deal depends on us ourselves. There is absolutely no need to wait for an instruction to abolish all other instructions. It is worth taking a look at how boldly, energetically, and without fetters many party organizations in the aforementioned Daugavpils city are working. Or take for instance the Leninskiy Party Raykom in Riga and the style of its First Secretary Tamara Ivanovna Savitskaya: Here almost every plenum is a kind of revelation. People are attracted by the freshness with which questions are raised, the thoroughness with which they are prepared, the depth of analysis, and the broad involvement of the aktiv in the collective quest. As a result, the so-called day-to-day party work assumes a vital interest for every Communist and the results are no longer determined by pieces of paper but by specific actions.

[Kozhanov] And it is the kind of results that are needed today.

[Pugo] Precisely. Our future successes ultimately depend on what we manage to achieve today.

And there is only one conclusion -- we cannot afford to dawdle even for a minute on the way. Especially today on the eve of the 70th anniversary of October, at a crucial point in our history, party organizations, above all at enterprises and associations, as the Central Committee Plenum noted, and our leading cadres are undergoing a test of their political maturity and militancy. Passing this test with honor is our party, patriotic, and international duty.

YAKOVLEV MAKES ADDRESS IN KALUGA OBLAST

LD150136 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today comrade Yakovlev arrived in Kaluga Oblast. The ancient Kaluga soil is astonishingly beautiful and steeped in legends. There are many monuments to days gone by here which are the pride of our people. Among them is this -- the famous historical and architectural complex, Optinaya. Everything here is steeped in the past -- the ancient buildings, the age-old pines and oak trees, and the lime trees in full bloom.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev's trip to Kaluga Oblast began today with a visit to Optinaya. He showed interest in the history of the reserve, its nature, and the restoration work [video opens with shots of river, cuts to close-up of ancient churches and other buildings; Yakovlev is then shown walking with a group of people]

The names of three great Russians -- Tolstoy, Gogol, and Dostoyevskiy -- put Optinaya, Comrade Yakovlev stressed, among a number of outstanding cultural monuments that require particular concern from the state and the people. In the evening a meeting of the oblast's party aktiv took place at the Kaluga CPSU Obkom, at which Comrade Yakovlev made a speech.

[Begin recording] Restructuring has become part of our daily life, an integral part of it. It has captured the hearts and minds of the people. It has not done so easily or ostentatiously. It prompts us to live and work while giving more of ourselves in order to overcome passivity and indifference. It raises more than a few difficult, unpleasant, and sometimes even painful issues.

Restructuring has not been launched at full strength everywhere. Why is it that in the 70th year of the Soviet state we have once again begun to talk about the need for revolutionary reforms in our economy, society, and politics?

Why is it that in our society, when we are now several generations removed from the legacies of tsarist Russia, why is it that serious erosions in morality have suddenly come to light? Why is it that in our art, the best part of it, the problem arose with such force throughout the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties -- about the very possibility of living and working according to one's conscience?

These are not easy questions. But if one is to answer briefly, then the root has to be sought in the following: In the goals and the means for achieving them, man himself -- his life, joys and anxieties, hopes and disappointments, beliefs and creeds -- in a word, everything that is expressed in the essence of human existence, was overlooked.

Life has reminded us very severely and exactingly that political and economic successes are transient. Man is everlasting; his moral element is not transient. This is all but the whole spectrum, a major prerequisite for a healthy communal life: home and family, country and people, freedom and duty, honesty, decency, justice, peaceableness and humanity, generosity, courage, loyalty, self-sacrifice, love, friendship, selflessness, nature, bread, water, the great goal, the great word, the great cause, work, creativity, the intellect, talent, and so on and so forth.

Over the last 2 and 1/2 years the party has told the people many bitter things. But everything that was said was true. Furthermore, the truth has been known to the people for a long time now. If today the truth is disrupting the habitual tranquility and emotional comfort, this is because we kept it to ourselves, as it were, for too long; and for too long did things accumulate that should and ought to have been talked about out in the open as long ago as 10, and even 20 or 50 years. One can say that in the period between April 1985 and January of this year our collective return to the truth has occurred.

The task now is a dual one. First, to make this situation an unconditional norm of our lives. To do this we must take all the necessary steps in social issues: in education, ideological work, political practice, everywhere and in everything. Second, not merely to know and to speak the truth, but to look at the world and at oneself realistically as a result of one's activities and to see all aspects of the processes. But the main thing is to act, to operate on the basis of this knowledge and understanding, not to engage in mutual indulgences at society's expense nor in compromises with oneself, not to put off to tomorrow what can and should be done today; to make living and working according to one's conscience an unshakeable rule for all, not just an appeal.

The last two plenums of the Central Committee were dedicated to moving away from explanation of the overall state of affairs, from analysis and drawing up of general lines, to real, practical action, at least in two directions: creating reliable barriers to put the brake on self-deception and starting profound transformations in the economy, in management of the economy, and in all of society.

Another large group of reasons giving rise to the need for truly revolutionary methods and means of restructuring concern the circumstances in which we lost a great deal of time; we started things and did not see them through to the end, not under the influence of some objective circumstances, but through our own fault. Many of the problems that we are solving today, and others that we have not started to solve, existed in the mid-sixties, and some even earlier, but the persistence, determination, and consistency necessary to solve them were not displayed. The outcome was the natural one: The problems did not disappear, they only became more acute, more complicated to solve.

The existence of problems and contradictions is normal in life; you cannot have life without them. What was abnormal was that for a long period the buildup of problems was faster than the rate at which they were solved. It is precisely this that now makes it essential to take urgent measures to clear away the blockages that have formed and throw off the burden that is pulling us down and forcing us to pay for what was not done yesterday or the day before yesterday. Indeed, here lies the essence of acceleration and, if you like, its practical sense.

Today it is simply not possible to do many things which were possible only yesterday. The moral criteria are becoming completely different. We all have to understand this, and the further we go on, the more acutely these issues will confront us. Let us say that the leap forward in public consciousness of the last 2 years does not today give us the right to confine ourselves to half-measures, wherever these half-measures might be taken. Conscience stands up against them. This leap forward comes not from a naive belief in the possibility of solving the most difficult problems of existence in one fell swoop; there are no miracles in life, and we are well aware of this. The understanding of the uselessness of half-measures is dictated by experience and today's level of awareness of the Soviet people. There have already been half-measures, there have been correct analyses, good and sure solutions; they did not produce the proper effect. Moreover, they made the solution of a number of problems considerably more difficult, because they facilitated the spread of attitudes of detachment, passiveness, aloofness, and apathy.

I would, however, also like to warn against the other extreme, explosions of excessive expectations and outbreaks of energetic, but short-lived, activity. These symptoms have appeared in some places, since the spirit of doing things in fits and starts and the custom of doing this are still very strong here.

No, comrades, we must not set ourselves to work in crash programs, in fits and starts, but on long-lasting, intensive, measured, and purposeful work. [applause] [end recording]

[A TASS report carried by Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 16 July 1987 in the Second Edition on page two, under the headline "Strengthening Restructuring's Moral Potential," adds the following:

"A.N. Yakovlev visited Kozelskiy Rayon, where he saw the sights of the Optinaya Reserve and inquired about the organization of restoration work.

"Questions of the renewal of the higher education system were examined during a visit to the Kaluga affiliate of the N.E. Bauman Moscow Higher Technical College. The CPSU Central Committee secretary familiarized himself with the teaching of the social sciences and general theoretical disciplines. A meeting was held with working people at a motor construction production association. A.N. Yakovlev familiarized himself with the work of trade enterprises. He visited the Memorial Museum at K.E. Tsiolkovskiy's home.

"A.N. Yakovlev visited Maloyaroslavetskiy and Zhukovskiy Rayons and the V.N. Tsvetkov State Livestock Breeding Center, as well as an exhibition at the "Ilinskiye Rubezhji" Museum of Combat Glory in honor of the feat of the Podolsk students in October 1941 and the architectural and sculptural complex in the Strelkovka Village devoted to Marshal of the Soviet Union G.K. Zhukov.

"Wreaths were laid in the oblast center at the square named for Lenin, at the V.I. Lenin Monument, and also at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Victory Square.

"On his tour of the oblast A.N. Yakovlev was accompanied by G.I. Ulanov, first secretary of Kaluga CPSU Oblim."]

SOLOVYEV TAKES PART IN LENIN READINGS IN LENINGRAD

LD092150 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Jul 87

[Text] Lenin readings devoted to the 70th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary took place today at the Smolnyy Lecture hall. Their subject is Lenin and the St Petersburg workers. The close relations between Lenin and the working class of St Petersburg are a vivid page in the history of revolution and the communist party.

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad obkom took part in the Lenin readings. The participants in the readings familiarized themselves with the Lenin memorial at Smolnyy.

NIKONOV ATTENDS MEETING ON FISHERMEN'S DAY

LD102103 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jul 87

[Text] It is Fishermen's Day on Sunday. A solemn meeting held in Moscow today was devoted to that professional holiday. In the presidium were Comrade Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, other officials, scientists, front-ranking workers in socialist competition, and representatives of the public of the capital.

CSA'S POGOSOV REVIEWS 6 MONTHS IN INDUSTRY

PM141526 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with I. Pogosov, deputy chief of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, by PRAVDA Economic Observer V. Goncharov: "Industry at the Midpoint of the Year" -- date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The calendar says July. The country's industry has passed the halfway mark in the 2d year of the 5-year plan. What has been done that was planned, and what has not been done and why? This is the subject of a conversation between V. Goncharov, PRAVDA economic observer, and I. Pogosov, deputy chief of the USSR Central Statistical Administration.

[Goncharov] Igor Aleksandrovich, it was stated at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum that serious laggardness was allowed to occur in the first months of the year. This led to hiccups in many sectors of the economy. The Politburo and government adopted appropriate measures to rectify the situation. Has it proved possible to make good the debts?

[Pogosov] The country's industry has increased its pace. The total volume of industrial production in January-June as compared with the same period last year increased by 3.5 percent. Let me remind you that in the 1st quarter growth totaled 2.5 percent. The level of contractual discipline also improved. For the majority of the most important types of output, the plans set were fulfilled by enterprises in the fuel and energy, metallurgical, and construction complexes. But on the whole the hiccups which occurred in the 1st quarter are still making themselves felt. The unpreparedness of many enterprises for work in the complex weather conditions of the winter and the interruptions in their supplies of the main types of fuel, raw material, and other materials had their effect. The railroads also let people down.

The situation improved in the 2d quarter. The level of production in the half-year as a whole accords with the plans in industry. However, certain contractual consumers failed to receive output worth R6.6 billion -- nearly 2 percent. For the first time the growth in production is ensured at the same time as a reduction in the number of people employed, by 70,000. This testifies to the trend for increased efficiency in economic activity.

[Goncharov] But the situation at enterprises in the machine building complex remains complex....

[Pogosov] Unfortunately, the facts are inescapable. For many types of machines and equipment the debt is increasing. Machine building enterprises account for more than one-fourth of the total volume of unfulfilled contractual commitments. Here the failures are largely associated with hiccups in deliveries of subassemblies within the machine building complex itself. Many plants are suffering badly from a shortage of bearings, electric motors, various instruments, and other subassemblies. The problem of delivery discipline remains acute. Things were also exacerbated by the unpreparedness of certain enterprises for the introduction of state acceptance, which, as you know, required additional efforts in terms of compliance with production technology and the fulfillment of all operations in full accordance with state standards and technical conditions.

Thus the main reasons for the difficulties in machine building lie within the machine building complex itself. On the whole there is nobody to complain about. [paragraph continues]

True, machine building enterprises are still receiving less of individual types of metal products that are in short supply. Although the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy produced several hundred thousand tons of finished rolled metal products above plan, this good overall figure conceals substantial shortcomings. Plans are still fulfilled mainly on the basis of less labor-intensive and heavy output. At the same time the national economy is suffering a shortage of high-efficiency output. In the 6 months the shortfall in rolled metal products made from low-alloy steel was some 300,000 tonnes, and for cold-rolled sheet steel it was 167,000 tonnes. In all, of 21 types of high-efficiency metal products the plan was not fulfilled for 18 types.

[Goncharov] At the same time the machine builders face complex tasks in improving the technical and economic standard of output and renewing it. How is this task being resolved in the existing situation?

[Pogosov] In 1987 as a whole 7.6 percent of machine building output is due to be renewed. In the 1st half-year 4.3 percent was renewed. Clearly much still remains to be done. Unfortunately in a number of instances the ministries' efforts have been directed not so much toward organizing the assimilation of new machinery as toward amending and carrying over the schedules for the fulfillment of targets. Thus the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building adopted decisions on carrying over the assimilation of more than half of the new types of output from the 1st half-year to the 2d. The Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry made amendments to every seventh target for the assimilation of new-generation technologies stipulated in the plan for the 1st half-year. And the enterprises where rotary and rotary-conveyor lines are to be introduced and the schedules for this have been changed three times.

Amendments to targets indicate that in certain ministries the renewal of output and the substantial improvement of its technical and economic standard are still, as before, regarded as secondary.

[Goncharov] Is it also important for new, high-productivity equipment to operate on more than one shift?

[Pogosov] Yes, the established system for an enterprise's labor is the double shift, while high-efficiency and unique equipment should operate on a three- or four-shift system. Work is under way in this direction. A spot check on enterprises in 21 regions of the country carried out at the beginning of the year showed that 44,000 items of equipment with a total value of more than a quarter of a billion rubles, as well as 417,000 square meters of production area, had been freed. Modern machinery has been installed in the areas thus freed and the production of consumer goods has been organized. The workers' working conditions are also improving. Dilapidated premises have been eliminated. In a word, the switch to the multishift work system is helping to improve the structure of the equipment pool by means of dismantling obsolete machine tools which are not sufficiently productive and require increased energy and material expenditure.

[Goncharov] This is advantageous for the enterprises themselves, too. Many of them today work in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Every kopek counts now.

[Pogosov] You are right. [paragraph continues]

Since 1 January 1987 associations and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, as well as 37 major associations and enterprises in other sectors, have been switched over to full economic accountability and self-financing. They produce more than 20 percent of the total volume of output. Some 6 million people are employed here, or 16 percent of the total number of workers in industry.

The results of these collectives' work will be determined to a considerable degree by the retooling of production on the basis of the resources earned. Social development will also depend entirely on the end results of labor. Therefore, for them, the period that has so far elapsed can be regarded only as the start of a marathon. But we can already take a look at how these enterprises have begun their activity in the new conditions. Their experience is important for those who will be going over a self-financing next year.

The stepping up of the role of economic levers and the dependence of the extent of funds earned on the end result of production has had a positive influence on the process of plan formation, and the utilization of production potential has improved. The proportion of machine building output being assimilated for the first time in the country is increasing, the practice of direct, long-term economic ties is spreading, and the funds earned by enterprises for production and social development are increasing and being better utilized.

But as yet the advantages of the economic mechanism based on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing have not yet been fully realized. The work of enterprises which have switched over to the new economic management footing is affected to a considerable degree by the imbalance between production plans and material supplies.

In April 72 associations and enterprises working in conditions of self-financing were investigated. What emerged? Practically everywhere the funds allocated for materials were below the plan requirements. Moreover the vast majority of economic managers mentioned a number of associated plants which consistently fail to fulfill contractual commitments. Two-thirds of the leaders placed first among the most acute problems the poor supply of raw materials, semifinished products, and subassemblies.

They also complain of something else. In the new conditions the main indicators are the fulfillment of commitments for deliveries of output and also the fulfillment of profit plans. Indicators relating to scientific and technical progress, the development of the social sphere, and several others are also important. But at all levels of management people are still being called to account particularly rigorously for the rate of growth of commodity output. This approach does not accord with the principles of modern economic management. In production, the most important thing should be the fulfillment of specific orders for the end product and the improvement of production efficiency, while growth rates should arise out of the specific circumstances.

[Goncharov] The pursuit of gross output certainly pushes economic managers onto the path of expenditure, the production of those articles which are most advantageous to themselves, and the rejection of many of the consumers' orders. As a result departmental interests prevail over society's requirements, and thus the people's interests. What is this? A symptom of the old disease in the new conditions?

[Pogosov] So it seems. Certain economic managers are still working in the old way. [paragraph continues]

Thus the USSR Ministry of Light Industry must go over to the production of goods which are in demand. However, the sector, citing objective difficulties, rejected a number of trade orders and is failing to fulfill many of the commitments taken on.

Gross output indicators have a negative effect on other sectors too, above all machine building, by hampering the renewal of output and the assimilation of new machinery. The basic provisions for the radical restructuring of planning and economic management are incompatible with volume indicators regardless of whether targets are set in the form of growth rates in absolute terms. The appropriate changes should be made to both planning and statistical practice. The nature of statistical publications, where the emphasis is on growth rate indicators, must also be changed.

The documents adopted by the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum and the 7th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, clear the way for initiative, full economic accountability, and self-financing and strengthen the enterprises' autonomy. What is advantageous to the state will be advantageous to the labor collective too. And we expect the radical reform of economic management to have an effect on production affairs in the 2d half-year.

The measures adopted to improve our entire national economy and bring it up to leading positions are a source of inspiration to Soviet people. The positive trends which have taken shape in the economy will undoubtedly be developed and strengthened.

[Goncharov] Changes in the economy were overdue...

[Pogosov] They have now begun. The tasks for this year are complex and responsible. In the 2d half-year industry must accelerate its pace. We must constantly remember that our economy must fulfill the plan for the jubilee year. That is the guarantee of further successes.

POTENTIAL FOR REDUCING FOOD IMPORTS VIEWED

PM131401 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Yelena Zagarskikh, political economy lecturer at the K.A. Timiryazev Agricultural Academy, under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Questions": "With a View to the Market Situation"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Dear Editor! The newspapers make repeated reference to the fact that the USSR buys grain and certain other agricultural goods on the world market. Last year, however, as is well known, our country harvested 210 million tonnes of grain, or 30 million tonnes more than the average annual level for the previous 5-year period. Has this increase affected our foreign purchases? Are there any long-term factors at work here?

V. Udaltsov, Moldavian SSR.

The recently published USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade Statistical Yearbook reports that in 1986 the total cost of Soviet imported goods classed in the statistical group "Food and Savory Products and Raw Materials For Their Manufacture" was R10.7 billion. This is 17.1 percent of all Soviet imports. Let us immediately make the point that no country in the world has completely eliminated the need to import food products. When discussing the international exchange of these goods, it is essential to consider differences in natural and climatic conditions as well as the traditional and developing division of labor. In comparison to other purchasers of food products on the world market, our country takes fifth place after the United States, Britain, the FRG, and Japan.

The comparatively good previous year's harvest contributed to the fact that Soviet imports of these goods decreased in 1986 in comparison with 1985 by 27 percent. This decrease was, to a considerable extent, the result of a sharp drop in grain imports -- from R4.8 billion to R2 billion. In particular, grain imports from the United States dropped from R1.6 billion to R.3 billion and, in quantitative terms, from 15.3 million tonnes to 4 million tonnes. Wine and vodka imports, included in the same statistical group, were reduced approximately twofold.

But last year also saw an increase in the import of some food products. They were mainly products rich in vitamins and proteins whose production is still inadequate in our country and will not be increased by just one good harvest alone, however good that harvest may be. These goods include meat, for which the demand from the majority of industrially developed states generally increases on the world market every year. In particular, last year the United States imported approximately 1.5 million tonnes. Our country imported 0.94 million tonnes of meat and meat products, which is 9 percent higher than the 1985 level and more than 5 percent of our own meat production (slaughter weight). These imports cost us R906 million.

Imported fruits and berries -- fresh and processed -- rose by almost one-tenth. We imported 1.7 million tonnes, for which we paid R687 million.

When criticizing Soviet agriculture, the enemies of socialism love to recall that prerevolutionary Russia was a major food exporter. We are fully aware of our shortcomings in agriculture. They were strongly criticized at the 27th CPSU Congress and their elimination has become one of the main aims in our restructuring process.

But anti-Soviets deliberately keep quiet about the fact that tsarist food exports were achieved at the cost of constant malnutrition for millions of working people, hundreds of thousands of them dying of starvation in the lean years; they do not say that the Land of the Soviets was the first civilized state to free its citizens from man's longest scourge -- hunger, which even now, as evidenced by U.S. Congress documents, makes itself felt in the world's richest capitalist state. And this happens despite the fact that America's unique soil and climatic conditions make it possible in many states to gather two harvests per year of heat-loving crops such as corn.

If one looks at the historical facts objectively, it must be said that the Soviet Union has also been a major food exporter for the greater part of its history. Even now we annually sell food products worth more than R1 billion. But now this accounts for only 1.6 percent of all Soviet exports. Previously, this indicator was as much as 20-30 percent, because food was one of the few goods which the USSR was able to use to pay for its imports of foreign equipment, initially for speeding up our industrialization and later for rebuilding the national economy after Hitler's invasion.

It was only at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies that the USSR's economic potential reached a level which allowed it to make more extensive use of the foreign market's potential for enriching the country's food stocks and replenishing the livestock feed base. During the 1970-1985 period the annual cost of Soviet imports of food and degustatory products and raw materials for their production increased many times over.

We have begun to purchase more tropical and subtropical products than we used to import: cocoa beans, coffee, tea, peanuts, almonds, and other southern nuts for the confectionary industry and oranges, lemons, mandarins, bananas, and other products from southern countries. Last year alone we spent approximately R1 billion on these products. Fish and fish product imports have increased almost 10 times: in 1986 approximately 450,000 tonnes were imported at a cost of R90 million. We also imported more than 300,000 tonnes of butter, dried milk, cheese, and sheep's milk cheese. This helps to supply the population more fully with food products and varies Soviet people's diet.

At the same time, during this period, from once being a constant exporter, our country has become a major grain importer. Despite the fact that in the last 20 years average annual grain production in the USSR has increased approximately 1.5 times and the country has long had enough bread and baking flour products, we are nevertheless rather short of forage grain. A total herd of 87 million head of cattle in 1965 had grown to 121 million by 1986, while the figures for hogs and poultry rose from 53 to 78 million and 456 to 1,165 million respectively.

This kind of increase, which relies to a considerable extent on forage crops, has made it necessary to insure ourselves by importing grain supplies. This situation was aggravated by the spate of bad harvests in the 11th 5-year period, when we had to import tens of millions of tonnes of extra grain from abroad -- U.S. monopolies being the main suppliers on the world market.

While attaching due significance to importing food and degustatory products for the national economy, a number of attendant negative phenomena cannot be ignored.

On an international scale, we are talking about U.S. reactionary circles' unremitting attempts to stand in the way of our country's buying grain on the foreign market. [paragraph continues]

The course of global confrontation with the Soviet Union adopted by American imperialism at the end of the seventies took the form of the "grain embargo" against the USSR which many people remember so well. And although this demarche ultimately failed to achieve its aim, boomeranging against the United States itself, it once again proved to us how extremely cautious we must be in our relations with the imperialist camp.

On a national level, the import of a number of food and degustatory products and the raw materials for their production appears, in light of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum, to be the legacy of the previous period of extensive Soviet economic development, which is now being severely reassessed in the restructuring context.

Our attention is primarily drawn by the fact that the increased quantitative output of agricultural produce has not been acompanied by qualitative improvements in the organization and planning of that production. Intensive technology has been introduced into arable farming and stockraising to only a limited degree.

This will all take time to put right, of course. But there is one sphere of activity which could produce a virtually immediate or at least very rapid effect. This is a careful, solicitous attitude to what we cultivate.

A CPSU Central Committee conference held in May this year on the subject of developing the agro-industrial complex's processing sectors and storage base noted that 15-20 percent of all food products is still being lost on the way from the fields and farms to the stores and failing to reach the population This is more than 40 million tonnes of last year's grain harvest, worth almost 6 billion dollars on the world market or more than R4 billion according to the official USSR State Bank exchange rate.

If we are talking about wasteful meat losses, their complete elimination would mean a minimum increase of 2 million tonnes of meat for us, worth almost R2 billion on the world market last year. No less impressive are similar comparisons for horticultural and market gardening products, where losses are still very great. Last year, for example, we imported 678,000 tonnes of apples, paying R211 million. And how much fruit has been wasted in our own orchards and storehouses?! As was noted at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, a situation has developed whereby products for which we work hard continue to be wasted because our storage and processing facilities are inadequate, and so we have to compensate for these losses by importing from abroad.

The exceptional urgency of introducing intensive economic methods and the strictest possible economy measures is dictated by life itself, including current fluctuations on the world market. At the beginning of 1986 world prices for fuel and raw materials fell more than twice. Meanwhile, we have been using the profits from these exports to pay for more than half of all Soviet imports, including a considerable proportion of food products. In 1986 energy exports alone fell by almost R6 billion. But even without the drop in world prices for fuel and raw materials, any future increase in the export of natural resources would have been at variance with our economic potential and the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

As a result, the task of decisively reviewing the range and volume of Soviet imports, including food products, has become very urgent. The 1986 foreign trade statistics show that this revision is already taking place. And it is perfectly logical to reduce our imports of products that we have in our own country, which can be used to the full in our national economy if we assume a more organized, zealous attitude.